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SUCCESS CRITERIA FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: A GROUNDED THEORY APPROACH TO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM IN ALBERTA

by

© CAROL ANNE ROLF

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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Success Criteria for Citizen Participation:
A Grounded Theory Approach to
the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in Alberta

submitted by Carol Anne Rolf in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development.

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Date April 9, 1979

ABSTRACT

The necessity of citizen participation is a central and basic philosophical assumption in the field of community development. This thesis is an exploration of this basic assumption. The specific problem addressed is the absence of adequate success criteria for examining the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation, and which may be applied in evaluation research. A grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) in Alberta is employed to develop these success criteria. This approach is a qualitative research process of theoretical sampling in which data is collected in categories from a variety of sources. Interpretation is largely based on induction. The process in this thesis involves a review and analysis of citizen participation literature at the macro level; participant observation in NIP at the provincial level; a file search on the participation component of the program; and field interviews with representatives of comparison groups in a cross-sectional sample of NIP neighbourhoods in Alberta. The result is the generation of success criteria for legislated citizen participation which is grounded in the phenomenon. These criteria have a process component and an impact component relative to the participants and their community. Each component is synergistic and composed of four relative dimensions or continua of success. Briefly, these are accountability, function, role

and information in the process component; and integration, education, efficacy, and legitimation in the impact component. An acceptable level of validity is established. The success criteria remain theoretical, and require operationalization. They may be subject to verification research through their application in evaluations of citizen participation programs.

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Chapter 1

The Problem

1.1 Introduction

The concept of citizen participation is inextricably intertwined with Western concepts of community development. The assumption that citizen participation is morally and ethically good, and necessary, is pervasive enough in community development literature, for it to be considered one of the domain assumptions of the field. The validity of this assumption has become an a priori issue,[1] and the term citizen participation appears with unfailing regularity in contemporary definitions of community development. One of the "specialities" of the community development "generalist" is, in fact, to "facilitate the participation of citizens" (brochure from the Division of Community Development, University of Alberta).

Although citizen parficipation has sometimes been used synonymously with community development (U.N., 1975), the latter cannot lay unique claim to the former. Citizen participation is a world-wide phenomenon, and often hailed as a panacea for 20th century ills.

The problem is, that as a panacea, normative theory about the ideal and practice of citizen participation is

[1] See for example: Arnstein in Cahn & Passett, 1971; Stenberg, 1972; Spiegel, 1968; Taylor in Spiegel, 1969.

limited. The concept does not lend itself to rigorous, theoretical analysis, and there are large gaps in whatever normative theory does exist (Cook & Morgan, 1971). Even as speculative philosophy, the ideology of participation has not been systematically organized or neatly structured (Wengert, 1976). Even within the somewhat narrower confines of the North American and British political systems, Wengert suggests that public participation as a form of governance has not been dealt with effectively; formulation and critical analysis are badly needed.

Wengert (1976) states that this problem is not surprising because the meaning, role, and function and importance of participation, vary from culture to culture, and political system to political system:

> Given this variation in usage and the many meanings and connotations of the terms citizen involvement and participation, it is probably not surprising that neither normative nor empirical theories applicable to the topic have been formulated. (p. 23)

Other authors are in agreement that the normative, theoretical problems with the phenomenon lie somehow with its meaning. Seaver (in Spiegel, 1968) says that it is difficult to discuss citizen participation because "almost everyone has a different view based on unspoken assumptions and perspectives" (p. 63). Styles (1971) suggests that everyone from the New Left to the Far Right and in-between has been spouting "participation" until it has become a universal word which "has described a vague and undifferentiated good"

(p. 163) and is meaningless. Pateman introduces her heroic attempt to place participation in a modern, stable, theory of democracy by saying:

> The widespread use of the term (participation) in the mass media has tended to mean that any precise, meaningful content has almost disappeared; "participation" is used to refer to a wide variety of different situations by different people. (1970)

Whether one ascribes to the variations in meaning assessment, or the lack of meaning assessment, the theoretical problems with citizen participation remain. In spite of, or perhaps because of, the problems related to the meaning of citizen participation, the concept is a popular topic of debate.

Multidisciplinary dabbling in the art of citizen participation has produced a massive, impresionistic canvas of literature during the past decade. There seems to have been little progress, however, towards organizing the state of the art into a clearer picture.

In 1968, Spiegel lamented that citizen participation defied generalization. He said that the evidence at that time, was contradictory, inconclusive, particularistic, and overly qualified by situation specificity (pp. 3-7). Writing almost a decade later, Wengert (1976) suggests that, although the literature has grown, most of it relates to specific government programs. Despite this narrow focus, Wengert echoes Spiegel's lament with the judgement that prescriptions for participation still rest on unanalyzed premises and assumptions,

and abound with rhetoric and polemic.

The introduction to Public Participation: A General Bibliography and Annotated Review of the Canadian Experience (1977), prepared for the Canadian Conference on Public Participation, lauds the fact that public participation has become the subject of serious academic attention, but warns that:

> As a field of study . . . it is fragmented, rather unorganised and still some distance from significant generalisation. (p. 2)

Everyone[2] talks about the absence of a systematic body of theory for participation. One of the only significant results of the proliferation of writings on citizen participation seems to have been the marriage of grand theory from some disciplines with middle-range theory from others.[3] This has produced a rather unwieldy hybrid, whose culitvators are often reduced to semantic bickering.

This lack of adequate normative theory about the ideals and practice of citizen participation becomes a very critical problem in a field such as community development, where the concept of citizen participation is considered a basic assumption, and where people are meant to be trained to facilitate the participation of citizens. As a basic assumption, theory about citizen participation cannot be excluded from any systematic body of theory for community development. Yet, even in community development literature, the

---

[2]See for example, Cook & Morgan, 1971; Pateman, 1970; Seaver, 1968; Spiegel, 1968; Wengert, 1976.

[3]For example, "grand theory" concerning political power from political science with "middle range" theories of group behavior from sociology and social psychology.

term citizen participation is left vague and undefined, or is so situation specific, that it can be neither generalized, nor adequately operationalized. This is not startling in light of the rather global normative problems discussed above.

The writer suggests that this unresolved issue of normative theory about citizen participation, is one in which the field of community development can no longer afford to bootleg from other disciplines. It is the intention in this thesis, to attempt to grapple with some of the normative issues, from a community development perspective.

1.2 Community Development and Citizen Participation

With the chronic dissensus among theorists and practitioners over the connotative and denotative meanings of the terms "community" and "development", it is not surprising that the literature reveals a similar lack of consensus for the definition of such a hybrid, synthetic concept like community development. Several authors (for example, Ruoss, 1968; MacKeracher, Davie & Patterson, 1976, Griffiths, 1974) confirm this lack of clear consensus on what community development is in terms of theory or practice.

The dissensus springs partially from the interdisciplinary nature, and the corresponding high degree of perspectivism in the field. A wide variety of disciplines, from anthropology to social work, can all lay claim to the roots of community development in some form or another. This historical

variety has yielded a wide array of approaches to the field which lie, to some extent, polarized between the top-down approach of the British Colonial system, and the bottom-up approach of applied anthropology or radical community organizers. No two approaches utilize identical definitions, theories, or methods for community development. As a result, it seems almost impossible, and probably unnecessary, for the purposes of this thesis, to attempt a singular definition of community development, which spans the variety of perspectives.

There are, however, some commonalities among contemporary, Western, concepts of community development. There are some common aims, purposes, and objectives (Griffiths, 1974; Nicastro, 1976; MacKeracher et al., 1976) which have been identified among those who purport to do community development. Community development is basically about change. The orientation of this change is towards both the individual and society, and is change in both the subjective, intangible, socio-political environment, and in the objective, physical environment (Popenoe, 1967). Community development is a dynamic process, intrinsically bound by the assumption that this change will lead to a <u>better</u> state of affairs.

It is not this aim of change, the objectives of change, or even a particular kind of change, however, which sets community development apart from other fields. Nor is it a peculiar definition of either community or development. A multitude of perceptions, prescriptions, descriptions,

interpretations, and analyses for the above abound in the literature. It is rather, a particular normative philosophy, or spirit, of how this change should occur, which sets Western concepts of community development apart from other processes, programs, and professions of change.

Dunham (1970) for example, suggests that community development is basically democratic in nature, and that the philosophical assumptions are:

(1) concern with enabling people to live wholesome, abundant lives;

(2) belief in the common man and the community where people live;

(3) right of self-determination--within the general framework of society;

(4) emphasis on self help.

Dunham says that:

> Logically it (community development) is tied up with such ideas as ultimate control by the people, a substantial degree of freedom by individuals and groups, a considerable amount of government decentralization, and widespread citizen participation. (p. 173)

Eaton (1963) suggests that there are three main community development ideological models: Social Darwinism, expertism, and mutualism. Each model has somewhat different answers to questions of authority, personnel, problem-solving process, distribution of gains, and distribution of losses. It is the mutualist approach, says Eaton, which "is a cherished ideal in the contemporary world" (p. 45). It is this approach

in which the people have authority; the people plan; the personnel facilitate, enable; and the gains and losses are equitably distributed. It is the mutualistic approach, or ideology, which embodies the kind of philosophical assumptions outlined by Dunham (1970).

These assumptions and ideals provide a common framework from which to examine much of the rhetoric of community development. In operational terms, they mean that community development should move the community and its members towards communally-defined objectives, and that citizens should participate in all, or most aspects of this process (MacKeracher et al., 1976).

Clearly, the necessity of the participation of people in decisions which affect their lives is central to this concept of community development. This implies assumptions of belief in people as rational, able and willing to change, basically "virtuous" in their rationality, capable of improving themselves, trustworthy, and intelligent. Concomitantly, there is an implication of belief in what David Hart (1972) describes as the "ideal democratic character". This abstract character is capable of handling all the requirements of participation, will invariably participate when given the opportunity, receives great satisfaction from participation, will arrive at consensus, and understands that full human potential can only be realized through participation.

Whether this philosophy of means for change is tied to a geographic dimension of community, or whether it is tied to any of the multiplicity of definitions for community is immaterial. The writer will accept, for purposes of discussion, a definition of community as:

> Any collectivity of individuals, groups, subgroups and/or institutions or their representatives, which share time, space, and resources over an extended period in some endeavor of mutual concern. (MacKeracher et al., 1976, p. 9)

Whatever definition of community a theorist or practitioner accepts, the end result of this philosophy of means for change is development. The very word development is defined in The Concise Oxford Dictionary (10th Ed.) as a noun meaning gradual unfolding; growth; evolution; full-grown state; state of advancement. The philosophical assumptions and ideology discussed above imply that this development is more than just a change in the competencies of individual members of a community, more than just a change in quantifiable resources, and more than just a change in the problem-solving and decision-making processes and structures of a community.[4]

Development approached as community development, operating from these philosophical assumptions, means a

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[4]MacKeracher, Davie & Patterson (1976) isolated these three basic ways of conceptualizing "development" in a community context, but viewed them as separate kinds of changes, dependent upon who was perceiving development. For example, economists and politicians saw the quantitative changes; community development agents, the power structure and problem-solving changes; and community members, the changes in individuals.

synergistic evolution of all three kinds of change. This kind of synergism preserves the freedom, dignity, and self-determination, and integrity of individuals, who also recognize that they are part of a whole--the community--and that the parts cannot exist when the whole is destroyed. As a result, the common good is maintained.

The kind of philosophy under discussion might well be condensed to "power to the people" and is a very lofty ideology:

> The call for "power to the people" . . . is in keeping with an ancient and honourable tradition in western thought. It is the tradition of seeking to make man the master of his communities, and those who pursue it today must be said to be high company.
> (Cook & Morgan, 1971, p. 40)

The problem, then, becomes how to operationalize this ideology of citizen participation. It is this ideology which is fraught with the normative, theoretical problems discussed earlier. The research into these problems will be undertaken from this ideological perspective.

1.3 Focus of Investigation

Citizen participation is an extremely broad topic. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to develop the definitive participation paradigm for community development. The research must be delimited.

In order to control for the kind of cross-cultural and cross-political system differences which cloud the issue of citizen participation, the research will be focussed on

citizen participation within the political culture of Canada, which is a system of representative democracy.

For a variety of reasons--which are discussed in a later chapter--citizen participation has been receiving accolades from the representative-democratic establishment for the past decade. There has been a growing trend towards legislation which reflects official recognition of the merits of citizen participation (Natural Resources Journal, 16(1), 1976)--at least as a means to increase the accuracy of government determination of public desires, or for policy/program implementation. While Sewell and O'Riordan (1976) describe the actual path of this trend as being a series of reformist pulses, followed by periods of reaction and retrenchment, there are many examples of legislated citizen participation within our political system.

The policy rhetoric of many government programs, containing a citizen participation component, sounds rather similar to the rhetoric of the kind of community development discussed above. Because of this similarity, and because of the trend towards this kind of legislation, it is possible that a community development agent may be facilitating the participation of citizens within these programs.

To reiterate Wengert (1976), the place of citizen participation within a representative-democratic system has not been dealt with effectively, and the normative theory in this area is far from adequate. Community developers employed

in these programs are thus confronted, not only with attempting to operate a philosophy of "power to the people" which is normatively deficient, but with the added dilemma of attempting to operate it within a system, which has not, as yet, decided the appropriate role of that "power".

With the above considerations; with the assumption that citizen participation waxes and wanes in salience, but is generally found in some form or another, at some level of government within the Canadian political system; and with the assumption that community developers may be employed within this system, the focus of this research will be on legislated citizen participation, from a community development perspective.

1.4 Purpose of the Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to generate success criteria for legislated citizen participation, from a community development perspective, which may be applied within the realities of the Canadian political culture.

Despite the lack of adequate normative theory about the ideal and practice of citizen participation, the phenomenon, nonetheless, does exist in the real world. Therefore, examples may be studied in order to learn about it.

One of the ways to learn about a phenomenon, is to evaluate it. Suchman (1967), the patriarch of evaluative research, quotes Lewis' proposition concerning the relationship of evaluation to knowledge and action:

> Knowledge, action, and evaluation are essentially connected. The primary and pervasive significance of knowledge lies in its guidance of action: knowing is for the sake of doing. And action, obviously, is rooted in evaluation.
> (Lewis as quoted in Suchman, 1967, p. 132)

Evaluative research is a rather powerful mode of learning. It is also considered by some to be a bridge between "pure" and "applied" research (Suchman, 1967; Weiss, 1972). Richard Ball (1976) suggests that it is one middle-range way to deal with the problems surrounding the relationship between sociology and social action, or in other words, between theory and practice.

Community development is an applied field, and therefore, constantly involved with putting theory into practice, and constantly involved with the resultant problems inherent in such attempts. Evaluative research seems a particularly appropriate form of investigation for the field.

Evaluative research also has normative connotations. The word evaluation connotes appraisal, or assessment, or judgement of merit. Weiss (1972) states that:

> In its research guise, evaluation establishes clear and specific criteria for success. (p. 1)

Whatever is being evaluated is, thus, measured in some fashion against this success criteria. Success implies a definition of what should be--a normative state; evaluation involves the comparison, then, of what is, with what should be--a comparison, to some degree, of real with ideal. This thesis is addressed to gaps in normative theory about the ideal and

practice of legislated citizen participation from a community development perspective, evaluation seems a particularly appropriate form of investigation for this thesis.

The next logical step would be, then, to evaluate an example of legislated citizen participation.

Unfortunately, the state of the art of evaluation in the field of community development is about the same as in other areas, and:

> Evaluation reports in all social development fields tend to be weak in evidence, criteria, and intelligibility. . . (LaFleur, 1977, p. 245)

The evaluation of citizen participation as a mandated phenomenon, or as a variable in a program, is even more abysmal. The text of Public Participation: A General Bibliography and Annotated Review of the Canadian Experience (1977) states that:

> . . . to this time, at least, evaluation of the participation experience has been, at best, an afterthought, and at worst, a cause of no concern. (p. 20)

This condemnation, may not in fact reflect lack of concern--the literature is too full of attempts, for this statement to be completely accurate--but may reflect, rather, the absence of consensus for the success criteria so essential to evaluation research.

Implicit in evaluation research is the use of explicit criteria for judging or comparing the effects of an experience, or program, with its goals (Weiss, 1972). In

in other words, there must be some explicit goals or objectives, for a program or its components, against which the process or effects of that program may be assessed.

While many programs have explicit goals and objectives against which they may be evaluated, there is a singular lack of consensus on the explicit goals and objectives of the citizen participation component of those programs. Hutcheson and Steggert (1970) who "evaluated" federally mandated citizen participation in urban areas in the United States, reported the common frustration of researchers trying to study the phenomenon. They found, in the literature, a lack of comprehensive efforts to construct a conceptual framework, lack of adequate methodology, and a lack of consistency in identifying salient characteristics or variables. As a result, they relied on a general survey design which resulted in a descriptive report on the operations of different organizations. Success criteria were not mentioned.

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to generate success criteria. Success, in this context, implies the normative or intended effect, product, or impact of the citizen participation component of a program, on the participants and their community. It implies the development of explicit goals and objectives for the citizen participation component of such a program.

The resolution of this particular normative issue about mandated citizen participation, at least within the field of

community development, has several implications. The most immediate implication is that legislated citizen participation could be evaluated against explicit success criteria. In other words, it could be evaluated as an entity in itself. Work could then progress towards the systematic development of theory about the practice; the appropriate forms of citizen participation which achieve success.

At the field level, this means that a community development agent could utilize success criteria to evaluate the "facilitation of the participation of citizens". This would help reduce the feeling, at this level, of working in a non-progressive vacuum; while the trial of different methods and forms of citizen participation would preserve the necessary flexibility of that activity. On a broader level, this may contribute to the current work on the development of an adequate collection of measures which can be used in the analysis of community development (Moe, 1971).

At another level, the availability of adequate, explicit success criteria for mandated citizen participation, would make this component a more useful variable in the evaluation of government programs which have a policy of citizen participation. On the global level, the generation of adequate, explicit success criteria for legislated citizen participation may, in a small way, contribute to the work on the development of theory about the role of citizen participation within a representative democracy.

The distinction should be made at this juncture, that the purpose of the thesis is to generate theoretical success criteria for legislated citizen participation, and not to verify that which may be now in use. The rationale for this research decision is presented below.

1.5 Rationale

There is a great deal of literature which contains useful information about citizen participation. Much of this literature pertains to government programs which have a citizen participation component, and more specifically to evaluations of those programs. This same literature, however, reveals the confusion over success criteria for citizen participation.

The lack of agreed upon success criteria, seems to have led to citizen participation being evaluated in terms of what might be considered, transferred objectives. In other words, citizen participation has not usually been evaluated against its own goals and objectives--which are, as mentioned earlier, normatively and theoretically problematic--but against other kinds of objectives. For example, the achievement of program objectives, the achievement of participant objectives, the achievement of participation itself, in some form or another, and the achievement of larger objectives, such as social change or decentralization, or a shift in the balance of power, have all been used in evaluations.

The choice of which of the above kinds of objectives are used, is, understandably, strongly related to an evaluator's personal orientation and the funding source. What constitutes "successful" citizen participation, then, is that which achieves these transferred objectives. Judgement of success in these instances is dependent on the actors involved.

This valuable work should not be negated, and indeed, cogent arguments may be made for examining citizen participation from a larger systems perspective. Unfortunately, this work has also contributed to the situation specificity of citizen participation, and has led to conclusions such as "the appropriate form of citizen participation is the one that works" (Riedel, 1972, p. 212) without any discussion of what "works" means. It is therefore, not a revelation to find the lack of consensus on methodology and variables for the evaluation of citizen participation which is reported in the literature (Hayley, 1977; Hutcheson & Steggert, 1970).

It is this use of transferred objectives which makes it inappropriate to try and <u>verify</u> such success criteria as exists for legislated citizen participation. In order to verify existing criteria, the researcher must accept a particular set of transferred objectives, and operate within them, particularly as the success criteria in existence, do not seem generalizable to other sets of transferred objectives. This argument presents a relatively complex, conceptual problem,

which may be considered more simplistically in the following manner.

The use of transferred objectives has meant that evaluations of citizen participation have been inextricably tied to evaluations of programs. Within the literature, there seem to be two main thematic ties: citizen control and program implementation.

These themes and their relation to both citizen participation and program evaluation could be visualized as a triangle. This is a rather static interpretation for the purposes of discussion.

Figure 1. is a triangle with program evaluation at the base, and citizen participation at the apex. One side of the triangle is labelled citizen control which indicates that this is one of the linkages between citizen participation and program evaluation. The opposite side is labelled program implementation which indicates the other thematic linkage. Both themes are on the same triangle because they are often considered--with differing intensity and application--together in relation to both citizen participation and program evaluation. The triangle is filled with the multiplicity of factors and variables which affect the base, apex, and both sides. The interrelationship of each side with the apex (citizen participation) and the base (program evaluation) is however, somewhat different.

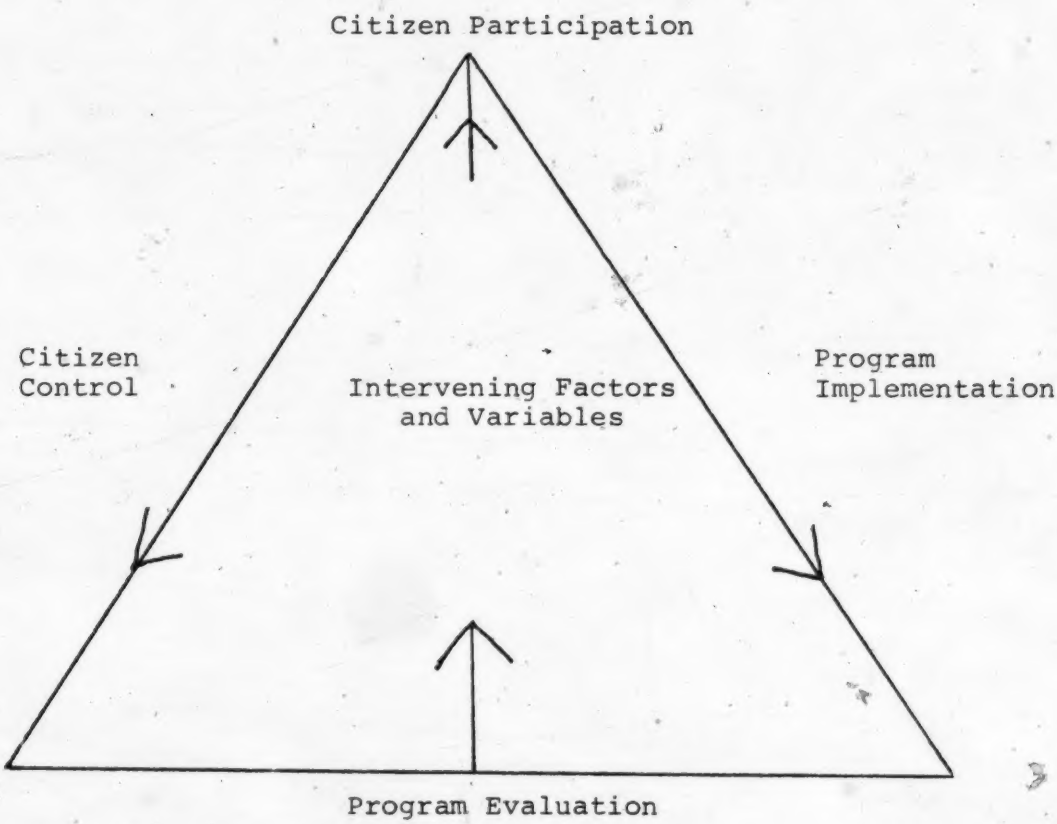

Figure 1. Thematic Triangle of the Relationship Between Citizen Particiation as a Program Component and Program Evaluation

Citizen control has often been used to evaluate particular programs. Citizen control, in this sense, is primarily operationalized by the degree of political efficacy, or power to influence the outcome, possessed by the participants. When this variable is used, a program may be considered successful if the citizens possess this kind of power and influence. This implies, then, that control is also a success criterion for citizen participation.

Many authors have opted for this theme in evaluation of programs containing a citizen participation component. Bregha (1973) for example, argues that it is not the provision or delivery of services which is critical in mandated citizen participation, but rather how decisions are arrived at, and whether citizens are part of the result, or whether the result is an imposition. Cunningham (1972) calls this the authenticity of participation, which he describes as a complex phenomenon with varying degrees of genuineness.

A variety of typologies have been developed which may be used to assess programs in terms of this efficacy or authenticity (Arnstein in Cahn & Passett, 1971; Cook & Morgan, 1971; Pateman, 1970). All of these typologies may be likened to a continuum with non-participation or a similar label at one end, and full participation or control at the other. Where a particular program fits on these continua is very dependent on the perceptions of both the researcher and the particular actors involved. A number of program variables affect the

amount of control participants possess in a program. For example, the stage at which citizens are involved, the kind of structure used for participation, how the participants are selected, the role and attitudes of the delivery agency and its staff, access to information, publicity, and funds allocated for participation (Gilbert & Specht, 1973).

The other side of the thematic triangle (Fig. 1) is labelled program implementation. In this instance, program implementation is used as a variable to assess programs which contain a citizen participation component. When this variable is used, the program is considered successful if it is implemented. By implication, then, the citizen participation component of the program is successful if it leads to program implementation. Authors who have opted for this theme often relate intervening factors and variables affecting citizen participation which enhance,or detract from, program implementation, or the converse. Hayley (1977) for example, developed what he called an effective model for citizen participation, in which he articulated multiple factors which affect citizen participation and consequently program implementation. Gilbert and Specht (1975) isolated socio-political correlates of community action which affect program implementation.

Other authors discuss the multiplicity of variables which affect citizen participation itself, regardless of either citizen control or program implementation. These can be categorized as structures or conditions conducive to

participation (Dubey, 1972; Riedel, 1972; Strange, 1972; Verba et al., 1973), and motivation on the part of the participants (McClusky, 1970; Wilson & Bennett, 1967). Neither category is mutually exclusive and each subsumes a host of other factors which affect citizen participation. The factors which compose these categories may be interpreted as negative or positive depending on whether one is concerned with citizen control or with program implementation.

It may seem, then, that by implication, program implementation and citizen control could be used as success criteria for citizen participation. There are problems, however, with the adoption of either or both of these implied criteria. The fact that both have been discussed relative to specific programs, notwithstanding, the adoption of these criteria as success criteria suggests that these are, in fact, the goals of citizen participation.

To use program implementation as the sole criterion for success, or as a goal for citizen participation, from a community development perspective, seems antithetical to the philosophical assumptions of community development. It immediately raises the issue of manipulation, for there is no assurance that the goals of a program are compatible with the goals of the program participants. It also raises the possibility that participation could be reduced to being defined as sheer numbers--surely not a definition which could be accepted from a community development perspective.

Merely because a program has been implemented does not, in any way, seem to indicate that a citizen participation experience has been "successful" from the perspective of the participants and their community. Program implementation can certainly not be ignored in an investigation of mandated citizen participation, as a program is the reason for the existence of this form of citizen participation. It clearly should not, however, be used alone if the participation experience is to retain any degree of authenticity.

Program implementation, as a criterion, is also very situation specific. All programs will not elicit an identical response in all communities at all times. A program may be successfully implemented in one community and not in another. This does not necessarily mean that the participation experience in one or the other community has been more or less successful in some way. The use of program implementation, alone, is not sufficiently generalizeable to be useful.

The other side of the triangle, then, citizen control would be another option as the sole criterion for success at present. This is certainly more compatible with the philosophical assumptions of community development, and indeed, sounds a lot like "power to the people". While there are few cases in which citizens have achieved full control over government programs, this does not mean it is an impossible goal to strive for.

Again, however, as a sole criterion, citizen control becomes less than usefully generalizeable. At some point, one must ask control over what? In some cases, the constraints imposed by government on the decision-making of participants may mean that the participation experience becomes an exercise, not only in frustration, but in triviality. While citizen control is obviously, from a community development perspective, an ideal goal, there must be some other criteria which will ensure that it does not become a trivial goal.

Another problem with using citizen control as the universal criterion for success in mandated citizen participation, is that the phenomenon itself may mean participation in one's own subjugation (Cook & Morgan, 1971). In Moynihan's words:

> citizen participation legitimizes bureaucratic interventions that might otherwise be resisted if not rejected. (1970, p. xix)

To have exercised control over an unwanted or un-needed bureaucratic intervention seems hardly the perfect goal for mandated citizen participation. It is therefore unacceptable as the sole criterion for success for this kind of citizen participation.

To attempt to use <u>both</u> citizen control and program implementation as success criteria, and therefore goals, of citizen participation raises another problem. They are often relatively incompatible. Gilbert and Specht (1973, 1974, 1975)

for example, found that the most successful program implementation in the Model Cities Program was correlated not with citizen control but with partnership between citizens and civic officials. Taylor (in Spiegel, 1969) and Washnis (1974) talk about the relationship of control to program implementation in a similar vein. These same authors indicate a negative relationship between citizen control and program implementation.

Authors who have used citizen control as a criterion to evaluate programs usually must conclude that a program has been relatively unsuccessful because the citizens rarely obtain or possess total control. Whether or not the program has been implemented becomes immaterial to them, because, according to their criteria, it has not been implemented successfully (i.e. with citizen control). This again seems to imply a somewhat negative relationship between citizen control and program implementation.

Clearly neither one or both of these success criteria are sufficient as success criteria for mandated citizen participation. They are derived by implication through their use in program evaluation. To attempt to only verify these criteria means falling into the trap of assuming that these are the objectives of legislated citizen participation, when it is common knowledge that there are no agreed upon normative, theoretical objectives for this kind of citizen participation. This does not suggest, however, that program implementation and citizen control may not emerge along with other criteria,

for neither one of them should be lightly dismissed. They are simply not sufficient, either together or separately, as the goals of mandated citizen participation, and cannot be usefully or ethically generalized. Therefore, it seems imperative to attempt to generate success criteria for legislated citizen participation, which, by implication, are also its goals and objectives.

The use of citizen participation to assess a particular program has revealed the lack of consensus over success criteria for the phenomenon. This has resulted in success criteria by implication only, which is dependent on the program and also on the orientation of a particular researcher. It is the intention in this thesis to turn the question around, and to use a particular program in order to examine the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation. In doing so, it is the purpose of the research to attempt to generate success criteria for mandated citizen participation from a community development perspective. These may then be the subject for further verification research.

1.6 Summary

This chapter has been an introduction to the problem addressed in this thesis: the absence of adequate, generalizable success criteria for legislated citizen participation, from a community development perspective. The problem is cogent for the field of community development because the

assumption that citizen participation is morally and ethically good, and necessary, is central to Western concepts of community development. As such, it is the basis of the philosophical assumptions and ideology of the field to which the writer adheres.

On a global level, the above problem stems from the gaps in normative theory about the phenomenon of citizen participation. With the trend--uneven as it is--towards mandated citizen participation, the problem is exacerbated by the lack of adequate theory about the meaning, role, goals and objectives for citizen participation within a representative-democratic system. Community development professionals may thus find themselves attempting to operationalize their ideology of citizen participation in this particular normative void. For this reason, it is legislated citizen participation which will be examined. In order to control for some of the cross-cultural and cross-political differences which affect this phenomenon, the research will be restricted primarily to its existence within the Canadian political culture and system of representative democracy.

It is the purpose of the thesis to generate success criteria for legislated citizen participation from a community development perspective. The rationale for this choice was discussed. It was considered inappropriate to attempt to verify such criteria for success which exist, because they are insufficient, often situation, author, or program specific,

and because they are derived by implication, in the literature, through their ties with program evaluation.

The two main success criteria found in the literature, citizen control and program implementation, are inadequate alone, and somewhat incompatible together. To verify one or both of these criteria means adopting one or both as the objectives of legislated citizen participation. As yet, there is no consensus over the normative, theoretical objectives of this phenomenon. In essence, this means the adoption of transferred or borrowed objectives, and thus, transferred or borrowed success criteria.

Part of this problem of transferred objectives is thought to stem from the global problem stated above, and also from the use of citizen participation as a variable in program evaluation. This compounds the problem, and reveals the lack of consensus over conceptual frameworks and methodology for the use of this variable in evaluation.

There is little evidence, in the literature, that the phenomenon of mandated citizen participation has been evaluated as an entity itself, perhaps because of the absence of adequate success criteria which reflects the absence of consensual objectives for the phenomenon. The tie between program and participation cannot be dismissed as they are interdependent at the legislated level. It is proposed, however, to turn the tie around, and look not at the program through participation, but rather at participation through a program. It is

hoped that this will overcome some of the situation specificity which pervades the research on citizen participation.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the development of theoretical, normative objectives for legislated citizen participation, from a community development perspective, for success criteria cannot exist in isolation from objectives. This has implications for work at both practical and theoretical levels in the field of community development.

At the very least, it is hoped that the generation of success criteria for legislated citizen participation will render it a more useful variable for program evaluation. This may, in turn, have implications for the current work on the development of theory about the role of citizen participation within a representative democracy.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The research, as discussed in the previous chapter, is to be focussed on legislated citizen participation. The basic premise of the research is to use a Canadian program, containing a citizen participation component, in order to examine the phenomenon with the intent of generating success criteria from a community development perspective. The program would thus be a vehicle for looking at this kind of citizen participation, as an independent variable, as opposed to the dependent variable it becomes in program evaluations.

The first step was to select a government program which had mandated citizen participation; which was relevant to community development; which provided a suitable milieu for study; and in which the program characteristics were such that the results would be generalizable and not be program specific. The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) seemed to meet these criteria.

2.2 NIP as a Vehicle for Research

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) was legislated at the Canadian federal level, in 1973, with the following

objectives:

General Program Objectives. To assist in the improvement of living conditions in neighbourhoods.

Specific Objectives.

1. To improve those residential neighbourhoods which show evidence of need and potential viability.
2. To improve and maintain the quality of the physical environment of the neighbourhood.
3. To improve the amenities of the neighbourhood.
4. To increase the effect of related programs.
5. To improve the neighbourhoods in a manner which meets the aspirations of neighbourhood residents and the community at large.
6. To deliver the program in an effective manner.

(NIP Operator's Handbook, CMHC, June 1975, p. B-1-B4)

Historically, NIP reflected the changing salience of citizen participation, and the changing attitudes towards urban development in North America since World War II (Cunningham, 1972; Speigel, 1968). The program was developed as a band-aid solution to the debacle of urban renewal activities in the sixties.

Urban renewal had been an attempt to cope with the physical problems of increasingly large, complex urban centres in which the inner core had deteriorated and declined. The physical deterioriation was labelled "urban blight", and often

the inhabitants of these "blighted" areas belonged to that segment of the population which Kaufman (in Connolly, 1969) says have been excluded from equal access to, or participation in, the benefits of the system which had catalyzed urbanization.

The cure for this blight was to erase its physical manifestations--the symptoms--and was called urban renewal. It was really urban surgery. Deteriorated buildings were to be razed and the people moved elsewhere. This surgery was performed without cognizance of the socio-psychological consequences of the operation, or of the system changes necessary to prevent the re-occurrence of the very symptoms being removed. The response to this urban surgery was overwhelmingly negative on the part of those living in these areas, who were being uprooted and relocated, as if the people themselves were the blight.

In 1966, the United States launched the Model Cities Program (MCP) in hopes of "improving the quality of urban life" with "widespread citizen participation" in urban revitalization (Warren in Spiegel, 1974). The MCP reflected a recognition that the physical environment is only a part of the ecology of a geographic community, that rehabilitation could be as good as renewal, and that those who had previously been excluded, should now be included in the charting of the urban environment (Spiegel, 1968).

That NIP is reflective of this trend is clear. In December 1969, the Canadian cabinet decided to curtail urban renewal activities, and jumped on the revitalization bandwagon.

NIP was included in the 1973 amendments to the National Housing Act (1953-54, C.23,S.1.) and seems like a narrower version of the Model Cities Program:

> The NIP program places considerable emphasis on a more sensitive and fine-tuned approach to physical improvement which complements the social fabric of the neighbourhood. The program is not designed to be used for wholesale demolition of deteriorated buildings and the subsequent construction of massive new building projects. The intent is rather to conserve and rehabilitate housing stock (through the companion Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program); to add or rehabilitate required social and recreational amenities or municipal services, to remove blighting land use, and to promote the maintenance of the neighbourhood after the NIP project is terminated. These and other characteristics of NIP recognize the fact that it is more desirable in both social and economic terms, to conserve and maintain the desirable qualities of a residential neighbourhood before it deteriorates so badly that major urban surgery is required.
> (NIP Operator's Handbook, CMHC, June 1975, p. A.1-A.2)

As part of the trend in changed attitudes towards urban development, NIP contained a legislated citizen participation component. It thus met the initial criterion for selection as a research vehicle as mentioned above. The federal-provincial agreement for NIP was required to:

> . . . provide that, before an application may be approved under this Part in respect of a neighbourhood, the province or the municipality in which that neighbourhood is located must advise the Corporation of the manner in which the province or municipality proposes to obtain the participation of the residents of that neighbourhood in planning and carrying out the project for which assistance is sought;
> (National Housing Act, Section 27.1(2)9c)

The selection of an urban revitalization program also seemed relevant to the field of community development. The objectives of the program, as quoted above, however ambiguous, sound similar to the goals of locality-based community development. Both the subjective (amenities) and objective (physical) environments (living conditions) were to be improved with citizen participation (in a manner which meets the aspirations of neighbourhood residents).

In addition to the apparent goal similarity, such a program also reflected the realities of an urbanized world population. At the end of this century, the projection is that the world's population will have doubled to seven billion, and over half that population will be an urban one.[1] As Warren (1971) suggests, community development is being used as a means for promoting industrialization, and also coping with its consequences. One of the consequences is urbanization. If over half the world is going to live in an urban setting, then the community developer must be prepared to "facilitate the participation of citizens" within that setting.

A review of urban community development literature suggested that the nature and consequences of urbanization have not been recognized in this literature; nor has the role and methodology of community development in the urban context been identified clearly (McDonald, 1977). The selection of a program with an urban context thus seemed relevant to the field.

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[1] Society for International Development. The global crisis in human settlements: a symptom of planetary malaise. Survey of International Development. 1976, 12(2), pp. 1-3.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program also provided a suitable milieu for research for the following reasons:

1. NIP was a finite, five-year program. The legislation terminated on March 31, 1978. Because it was perceived to be finite, there has been little evidence of major changes in the objectives, goals, and operations of the program. The research environment was thus relatively stable.

2. NIP was not a new program. Citizen participation in the program could thus be examined in areas where the initial glow had worn off; where the groping for format, organizational structures, and roles had already taken place; and where those involved would be able to reflect on their experience with some perspective.

3. The chronic problem of the definition of a community was partially assuaged. While NIP was plagued with "what is a neighbourhood" questions, the residential-ecological community was used as the base for participation. The geographic boundaries for this community were often arbitrarily drawn, but this relatively superficial definition of community could be held constant for the purposes of this research.

This research milieu was further limited to that of NIP in Alberta. This limitation was primarily for logistical reasons. It was not expected that this would be a detrimental limitation. Alberta had been involved since the inception of the program, and trends in program evolution in the province

mirrored national ones (Alberta Housing and Public Works, August, 1977). Two areas in Alberta (Inglewood-Ramsay in Calgary and Canora in Edmonton) were, in fact, among the first designated NIP areas in Canada. The early involvement of this province, and the pilot nature of these two areas meant that Alberta experience helped to shape the program across Canada. Therefore, it was assumed that the data generated would not be overly-specific to Alberta.

The final criteria for the selection of a program was whether or not program characteristics were such that the results of the study could be generalized. It was felt that NIP met this criterion, as well, for the following reasons:

1. Resident involvement in NIP was intended to be resident involvement in planning. Participation in planning may be considered as a microcosm of the wider involvement of people in the decisions that affect them in all walks of life (Styles, 1971). Therefore, success criteria generated for this kind of mandated involvement could be considered a microcosm, and thus generalizeable to other kinds of mandated involvement.

2. NIP was intended for areas in which the socio-economic and demographic characteristics militate against effective participation (Foskett in Sussman, 1959; McLusky, 1970; Rothman, 1974; Wilson, 1963). Resident involvement

would, therefore, be examined under what must be considered adverse, or other than ideal conditions. It was assumed that success criteria developed under less than ideal conditions would also be generalizable to more ideal conditions.

3. There were no guidelines for citizen participation in the program. It was expected that there would be a variety of formats and structures for participation. Therefore, success criteria would not be specific to a particular format or structure.

4. NIP was used in a variety of neighbourhoods from village clusters in Improvement Districts, to small towns, to large urban centres. While this might stretch some definitions of "urban", it meant that any success criteria would not be community size specific, and thus more generalizable.

5. NIP was a tri-level program. The cost-sharing formula involved federal, provincial, and municipal governments. It was assumed that any constraints on participation within a tri-level stystem of representative government would be in operation and thus the success criteria would reflect the realities of this kind of citizen participation. Therefore, the results could be more generalizable than those from a program which had only uni- or bi-level government involvement.

For the above reasons, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) was selected as vehicle for research. It met the criteria which were believed to make it useful for the examination of mandated citizen participation from a community

development perspective.

With the selection of a program, the problem became how to study the participation component in order to generate success criteria. The component had fared no differently in research on this program than in other research on other programs as discussed in Chapter 1. In other words, the component was sometimes used as a variable in assessing NIP.

For example, the Ministry of Housing in Ontario (1976) collected data, from municipal representatives, on twelve major topic areas related to NIP.[2] One of the areas was citizen participation. The representatives were asked whether citizen participation in their respective municipalities had been positive, negative, or insignificant/negligable; whether citizen participation should continue to be part of the program's requirements; and whether the function of citizen's groups should be advisory, planning, or a "sounding board" for municipal proposals.

This research reflects the program implementation theme tying citizen participation to program evaluation. The findings and conclusions support this. For example, the majority (89.4%) of the municipal representatives who responded, believed that citizen participation had had a positive effect

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[2]Community Renewal Branch, Ministry of Housing, Province of Ontario. Neighbourhood improvement program - program evaluation. Summary of municipal responses to community renewal branch NIP/RRAP questionnaire. July 1977. Prepared from a conference at the Constellation Hotel, Toronto, November 16 and 17, 1976.

on program implementation. In these terms, the respondents thought that citizens should act as advisors to municipal staff (33%), as a "sounding board" for feedback of municipal proposals (41.6%) or as a combination of these two roles (17.8%). Only 9.2% of the respondents thought that the role of citizens should be as a major planning body. In the eyes of municipal representatives, at least, control and program implementation were not compatible.

The conclusions of this study, regarding the citizen participation component of NIP, was that the component should remain in the program but that its impact "should be left to the discretion of the participating municipalities" (Ontario Ministry of Housing, July, 1977, p. 3). The report adds that "the level of and direction of participation seems to evolve more towards approval of citizens as an advisory oriented group, rather than an initiatory body" (p. 6). Therefore, in terms of program success, program implementation was "better" where the citizens acted in an advisory capacity. "Successful" citizen participation, then, would be exhibited in this kind of format. The focus of this evaluation was clearly on the process of the program rather than its impact, and on the process as perceived by municipal representatives involved in the delivery of the program. No citizens were at the conference where the data for the study was collected.

A discussion draft of an evaluation of NIP, and its companion program, the Residential Rehabilitation Program

(RRAP), in Ontario (1977)[3] deals with the citizen participation component again in terms of program implementation. One of the problems with NIP, the researchers report, was that citizen involvement was low, despite publicity. This variable was examined only quantitatively. A survey of residents was conducted in NIP areas to measure the level of awareness of NIP and of the citizen participation component. The results showed that only 26% of the respondents knew that a citizen participation component existed, and only 8% knew anything about what citizens had recommended in the program. Subsequently the researchers were able to report that citizen participation was not a major contributor to delays in program implementation.

The federal government conducted an evaluation of NIP and RRAP between August 1976 and 1977 which took the form of 21 case studies. None of these was in Alberta. Citizen participation was again examined in terms of program implementation. In a critique of a background paper for evaluation of NIP (Dais, Harper, McKellar & Detomasi, October, 1973), it was suggested that the most important question concerning citizen participation was what type of participation best furthered NIP objectives.

The final report of the federal evaluation has not been--and may never be--completed as a result of the termination of NIP legislation of March 31, 1978. An excerpt from the draft

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[3] Peter Barnard Associates. An evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and Residental Rehabilitation Assistance Program. A report prepared for the Community Renewal Branch, Ministry of Housing, Government of Ontario. Discussion DRAFT. September 1977. (p. B.4-B.5).

of this report[4] states that it was difficult to judge the success or failure of citizen participation because of the "soft approach" of CMHC towards this component. In other words, because the municipal government, and not the federal government, was responsible for this component, it was "left as an essentially permissive option, rather than a mandated level of performance" (p. 116). Nonetheless, the excerpt goes on to state that the

> degree of involvement of residents in the planning and implementation stage is the criterion for measuring the success of participation with respect to CMHC standards (p. 119).

In other words, the achievement of citizen participation as part of program implementation was the criterion for success. The "degree of involvement" was not defined in the research as reported, but was judged to be low in the majority of cases.

Resident control also appears to have been an implied success criterion in the federal evaluation. It is reported, in a negative sense, that the level of resident control over planning choices was low, and that the most pervasive format for participation was "information only" as opposed to advisory, or free consultation. These judgements of success or failure, it is reported, were "largely based on varying expectations" (p. 117) because of the lack of definition and explicit guidelines for the citizen participation component of NIP. This

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[4]CMHC. 7.3 Resident Participation (pp. 116-129). Excerpt from internal working document. Undated. Unreleased. Used with permission from the CMHC Regional office in Alberta.

is again reflective of the lack of agreed upon goals for such a component, and the absence of explicit success criteria.

The kind of evaluation activity described above demonstrates again the tie between program evaluation and citizen participation through program implementation, and provides a flavour of the variety of methodologies applied to this component as a variable in program assessment. Existing research on NIP itself, provided no consensus on what success critera or methodology for legislated citizen participation might be even using a theme of program implementation.

This sample of evaluation activity for the program chosen in this research, therefore, reinforced the existence of the problem addressed in the thesis: the lack of adequate, explicit success critera for legislated citizen participation; success criteria which are not bound to a particular program or its implementation. It was necessary to use a methodology which would be beyond program boundaries, and which would be generative.

2.3 The Approach

The fact that citizen participation seems to defy generalization has been discussed. Speigel (1968) suggested that the major reason for this defiance was the absence of a sizeable enough body of empirical evidence from which to draw meaningful conclusions. He justified this state by explaining

that because citizen participation was fraught with biases, relativism, paucity of absolutes, normative judgements, value-laden pre-conceptions, and lack of objective criteria, a scientific approach was "extraordinarily difficult". The increase in the amount of evidence over the past decade has not resulted in an equivalent increment in the number of "meaningful conclusions". It is suspected that this lack of satisfactory empirical evidence, and the difficulties of applying the scientific method to the study of citizen participation mean that the problems lie not with the phenomenon, but with the method. An attempt was therefore made in this research to avoid what Ball (1977) calls the "limitations of orthodoxy"

> . . . in which the specification of the theoretical model demands that a large portion of the answers be obtained before the questions can even be formulated. (p. 5)

The research strategy employed in the thesis was based on an investigative sociological approach (Ball, 1977) to the discovery of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). What Ball calls investigative sociology is a synthetic approach which stresses data discovery from different perspectives and kinds of data. Grounded theory is induced or discovered from this data; is thus grounded in the phenomenon under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Because of this grounding, it is argued that the generated theory is more applicable to real world situations.

This makes it attractive for an applied field like community development. The subjective, qualitative orientation of this methodology also seems harmonious with the ideological orientation and assumptions of community development as discussed in the last chapter. A belief in humanity as rational and intelligent suggests that the perceptions of the people are as valid, and useful, if not more so, than the results of an "objective" kind of data.

The emphasis in this kind of research strategy is also towards generation rather than verification. The generative purpose of this thesis suggests that the grounded theory strategy would be appropriate. The choice of a methodology emphasizing generation rather than verification places the researcher within the realm of the ongoing sociological debate over epistomology. This debate raises issues of qualitative vs. quantitative data; synthesis vs. analysis, induction vs. deduction which concern, at a general level, how sociologists get their knowledge, "the role of theories and concepts in that process, and the status of such knowledge claims" (Tudor, 1976, p. 480).

The pros and cons on either side of this debate are far beyond the scope of this thesis. The researcher has chosen the illative, phenomonological approach to the topic of citizen participation in response to the apparent failures of empirical research in the area, and because the approach seemed appropriate

to both the purpose of the thesis and to the field of community development.

This approach puts more emphasis on synthesis than analysis and on qualitative (especially documentary) than quantitative data. Generating theory through this approach is a process of research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This means that most of the hypotheses and concepts come from the data, and are worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research.

2.4 Research Process for Grounded Theory

Two basic kinds of middle-range theory may be generated: substantive and formal. Glaser and Strauss (1967) define substantive as theory developed for a substantive, or empirical, area of inquiry, such as patient care, race relations or professional education. Formal theory means that developed for a forma, or conceptual area of inquiry such as stigma, authority and power, or socialization. The case of mandatory citizen participation falls into the substantive category. The attempt to develop or generate success criteria for this substantive area is, of course, only a very small portion of substantive theory which could be generated for the phenomenon.

The research process, for the generation of grounded theory, involves the acquisition and analysis of data in a "continuous self-corrective process" (Ball, 1977, p. 9) which is controlled by the emerging theory. The process is called

Theoretical Sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

The researcher may begin work with a partial framework of concepts or categories which provide a foothold on the research. These sampling categories may be derived from multiple sources which include the literature related to the problem, and the researcher's own experience in the substantive area. At the same time, groups are identified as sources of data for the sampling categories. As the research progresses, other sampling categories and other groups may be identified. What emerges or is generated during the process could be termed conceptual categories or conceptual properties about a category. These in turn may become sampling categories. It often is difficult to differentiate between the two as they are inextricably bound together.

This process of research has been used in various ways by researchers attempting a Glaser and Strauss approach to their work. Charles Bisanz (1977) used the approach to study the factors and processes which explain the use of mass public protest actions by independent truckers. Bisanz interviewed and observed only one group: the independent truckers. Many of his preliminary categories "emerged" from initial interviews and were refined and expanded "through numerous iterations of the data" (p. 63). No significant distinction is made between his initial sampling categories and those conceptual categories which emerged. He seems to have begun with broad categories such as trucker culture, institutional channels,

and truckers' perceptions of institutions. Sub-categories emerged as data was collected and analyzed.

Rothschild-Witt (1976) used the grounded theory approach to study participatory-democracy modes of organization. Starting with the premise that these modes of organization were neither inevitable nor impossible, she compared four alternative service organizations. These became her comparison groups which were sources of data. Although she does not label them specifically as such, her sampling categories were the maintenance of a directly democratic form of organization, maintenance of original social goals, and sustenance of a non-bureaucratic, collective form of organization. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through field observations, structured interviews and questionnaires. What emerged was a set of hypothetical conditions which facilitate participatory-democratic organizations.

These two examples provide a flavour of how different researchers have interpretated and applied the grounded theory approach, or approached grounded theory, in different research situations. The process of theoretical sampling continues until some level of theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is reached. This saturation point is a function of the data, the researcher, and the categories.

The key issue is this kind of research is not the realiability concern of experimental-statistical designs, but rather validity. Validity in "grounded knowledge" presents

more complex problems than traditional research verification (Tudor, 1976). Validity becomes, in a sense, adequacy or consistency in terms of matching theoretical constructs with the meanings of the actors involved.

The ongoing debate in sociological literature between "positivists" and "phenomenologists" over epistomology has contributed several suggestions as to the establishment of validity at the phenomenological end of the continuum.[5] Ball (1977) for example, suggests that perspectivism is one answer. In other words, increased validity will result from a "pooling of observations gained from different vantage points" (p. 12). Rothschild-Witt (1976) considered her work to have an acceptable level of validity through the use of different kinds of data (i.e. qualitative and quantitative). Bisanz (1977) considered the criterion of adequacy to be the extent to which an emerging category helped to make the data understandable.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) themselves, discuss the credibility issue. The emphasis is more on conveying credibility to an audience rather than on the generic validity question. They do talk, however, about applying grounded theory, and discuss four interrelated properties on which the practical application of grounded theory depends. This practical aspect seems more useful to community development, and the citizen participation issue, than more esoteric postulates of epistomological adequacy. Andrew Tudor (1976) suggests that grounded theory,

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[5] See for example Gleeson & Erben, 1976; Tudor, 1976; Brown, 1976; Bruyn, 1966; Sjoberg & Nett, 1968.

according to Glaser and Strauss, is the least problematic of several phenomenological research procedures in this "common sense" aspect.

Applicability is also inextricably enmeshed with other aspects of establishing validity. It is difficult to imagine the successful application of theoretical constructs which are inconsistent, incoherent, meaningless to the actors involved, and about a phenomenon which lacks integrity. The practical application of theoretical constructs grounded in the data generated by the phenomenon seems useful for establishing the validity of those constructs, and this criterion will be used in this research.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) outline four interrelated criteria or properties which are requisite to facilitate the application of grounded theory. These are fit, understanding, generality, and control. Fit is the most central property, and refers to what Tudor (1976) calls the Postulate of the Integrity of the Phenomena. This means that the theory must be "faithful to the everyday realities of a substantive area" (Glaser & Strauss, p. 239) in order to be applicable to reality.

Understanding in Glaser and Strauss' context means that the theory is understandable to those working in the substantive area. This is reflective of other authors' concern with the centrality of meaning (e.g. Bruyn, 1966; Tudor, 1976). There must be some agreement among those involved in the substantive area on the subjective meaning of a phenomenon before

the theory itself becomes understandable. Generality implies that the theory must be applicable in a wide variety of "multi-conditional, ever-changing" situations (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Control, according to Glaser and Strauss, means that the theory should enable a person to

> . . . understand and analyze ongoing situational realities, to produce and predict change in them, and to predict and control consequences . . . (1967), p. 245)

This kind of control results from a theory which encompasses the other properties of fit, understandability, and generality.

2.5 Research Process

The research process in this thesis was a synthetic continuous, self-corrective process of the collection and analysis of data. Much of this collection and analysis was simultaneous with the writer's involvement with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program at the provincial level from May, 1977 to July, 1978.

This involvement was through participation in a provincial evaluation of NIP during May to September, 1977; the organization of, and participation in a NIP Workshop in June, 1977 for NIP coordinators and municipal representatives from across the province; assistance in the transfer of NIP administration from the Alberta Housing Corporation to the Department of Housing and Public Works, from February to April, 1978; and acting as temporary co-director of the program for the province from April to June, 1978.

The above experience provided extensive contact with the provincial administrators of the program, the federal administrators in Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge, the planning departments in Edmonton and Calgary, citizen or community co-ordinators in those cities, municipal representatives (elected officials) and NIP coordinators in the smaller municipalities, and with residents participating in the program. Throughout this experience, the writer was also involved in policy and procedure discussions relative to NIP both internally with the provincial administration, and externally with the federal and municipal program agencies.

The findings of the research, as a result, should be considered as a synthesis of participant-observation in the administration and evaluation of NIP, with the following research process developed from the researcher's interpretation of the grounded theory approach according to Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Table 1 shows a summary of this research process, the purpose and result of each "step" and the kind of data collected and analyzed. The process is presented in tabular form only for the purposes of discussion as the "steps" cannot accurately be considered as linear, and the participant observation was ongoing during the literature review, file search, and field interviews.

The literature on citizen participation was reviewed in order to place the phenomenon within some kind of historical

TABLE 1

THE RESEARCH PROCESS*

Research Steps and Sources of Data	Type of Data	Purpose of Step and Result	End Result
1. Literature Review	documentary	- Theoretical framework for research	
	qualitative	- Initial categories for theoretical sampling	
2. Participant-Observation	documentary	- sensitizing concepts about the participation environment	inducted conceptual categories of success for legislated citizen participation
	qualitative	- identification of comparison groups	
	quantitative	- determination of the level of generalization	
3. File Search	qualitative	- data for theoretical sampling	
	quantified	- validation of categories for theoretical sampling and comparison groups	
4. Field Interviews	qualitative observation	- data from comparison groups in categories for theoretical sampling	
		- theoretical saturation	

* not linear

Level of validity

and theoretical context, and to provide a framework for the thesis. An attempt was made to stay primarily on the macro level, in order to avoid some of the situation specificity which pervades the material. This review yielded some initial categories for theoretical sampling.

Initial comparison groups as sources of data for these categories were identified as a result of the writers' involvement with NIP. This involvement also provided data on NIP itself as the environment for participation.

A file search was conducted at the provincial level in order to collect what data existed in this source for the theoretical sampling categories, and to identify other possible categories for sampling. The results of this file search served to validate both the categories, as identified in the literature, and the comparison groups, as identified through the researcher's involvement with NIP.

At the time of the research, there were 28 NIP "neighbourhoods" in the province which were located in 19 municipalities, and 2 Improvement Districts. At that time, the areas of concentration were Edmonton, Calgary, the Drumheller Region, and the Crowsnest Pass. Of the 28 neighbourhoods, 13 were in the Implementation Stage of the program, which meant that the Planning Stage--the stage intended to have heaviest resident involvement was completed. A cross sectional sample of 9 of these neighbourhoods was chosen as representative of the kind of neighbourhood involved in NIP. Field interviews

were conducted with as many comparison groups as possible in this sample, in order to collect data in the theoretical sampling categories. The interview schedule is attached in Appendix A and was derived from the theoretical sampling categories. The field interview process is discussed in more detail in a later chapter.

When a level of theoretical saturation was believed to have been established, a neighbourhood was chosen, outside the sample, which seemed to exhibit characteristics common to the sample neighbourhoods. Interviews were conducted in this neighbourhood in order to test for theoretical saturation. Saturation was defined as the absence of new information from any of the comparison groups for any of the sampling categories.

The result of this research process was the inductive discovery of theoretical success criteria for legislated citizen participation from a community development perspective. These criteria are in the form of conceptual categories and conceptual properties of categories of success which are grounded in the data.

An acceptable level of validity for the success criteria was established based on the different sources and kinds of data which could be termed perspectivism (Ball, 1977), and according to Glaser and Strauss' (1967) criteria of applicability. It is expected that the criteria will also be subject to further verification research.

2.6 Summary

In summary, the methodology for this research was based on grounded theory as a strategy for qualitative, generative research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The reasons for this choice of strategy and some of the issues raised by this choice were discussed. The research process is called theoretical sampling.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) was chosen as a vehicle with which to examine legislated citizen participation using this research strategy. NIP was chosen because it had a citizen participation component; was relevant to community development; provided a suitable milieu for study; and it was believed that the program characteristics were such that the results could be generalized to other cases of legislated citizen participation.

The research process included four main, interrelated steps which provided four different sources of data. These were a literature review, participant observation in the program, a file search and field interviews. Data was collected from comparison groups for theoretical sampling categories, both of which emerged or were identified during the literature review and participant-observation. These categories and groups were validated during the file search. Field interviews with the comparison groups yielded the bulk of the data for the sampling categories.

Success criteria for legislated citizen participation were induced from all four sources of data. These are conceptual categories and conceptual properties of categories of success from a community development perspective. An acceptable level of validity for the success criteria has been established based on perspectivism and applicability, but further verification research should be undertaken.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The literature on citizen participation was reviewed as part of the research process outlined in the previous chapter. The purpose of the literature review was to provide a theoretical framework for the thesis--a "foothold" for the research--and to place the phenomenon of citizen participation within historical, theoretical, and pragmatic contexts.

The amount of literature on this topic is overwhelming. In order to avoid the situation specificity which pervades the material, an attempt was made to stay primarily on the macro level. What is reported below, is a synthesis of the literature which provided a framework for the thesis; and which was judged to be relevant both to the problem addressed and to the field of community development. The reader is referred to the bibliography for more specific, micro-level material.

3.2 Definition of Citizen Participation

Thirteen years ago, Almond and Verba (1965) published the thought that:

> If there is a political revolution going on throughout the world, it is what might be called the participation explosion. (p. 2)

It has either been a very long explosion, or the smoke has not yet cleared, because participation is still a burning issue. Especially since the sixties, people have sparked the explosion, been burned by the fire, choked and had their vision blurred by the smoke, drowned in the blacklash, and salvaged smouldering embers to start the blaze anew throughout the world.

One of the results of this rather long "explosion" has been the dilution and confusion in the meaning of the phrase or concept of citizen participation referred to in chapter 1 (Pateman, 1970; Seaver, 1968; Styles, 1971). The meaning of citizen participation has become lost in the rhetoric of the New Left, the Far Right, and everyone in between. The term can be found inside and outside the "establishment", and has become a sort of foster child for a multiplicity of groups and ideologies. As such, it seems to have suffered an identity crisis.

Nevertheless, there does seem to be some definitional agreement in the literature on what might be termed a denotative level. For example:

> Citizen participation is part of our democratic heritage . . . it views the citizen as the ultimate voice in community decision-making.
> (Burke, 1968, p. 283)

> In relation to development, popular participation as a process can be defined as active meaningful involvement of the masses of people at different levels (a) in the decision-making process for the determination of societal goals and the allocation

> of resources to achieve them and (b) in the voluntary execution of the resulting programmes and projects. (The Economic Commission for Latin America, 1973, p. 2)

> Citizen participation, then, is defined as a process wherein the common amateurs of a community exercise power over decisions related to the general affairs of the community.
> (Cunningham, 1972, p. 595)

> . . . the deliberate attempt by community people to work together to guide the future of their communities.
> (Warren, 1963, p. 20)

> . . . citizen participation is the involvement and responsible action of people around mutual concern.
> (Melvin, 1974, p. 42)

> A component of the democratic system which permits non-elected members of the community to exercise some control over decision-making which goes beyond elections.
> (Bureau of Municipal Research, Toronto. quoted in Public Participation: A General Bibliography and Annotated Review of the Canadian Experience, 1977 p. 5)

> Participation . . . means open, popular, and broad involvement of the people of the community in decisions that affect their lives.
> (Cary in Long, Anderson & Blubaugh, 1973, p. 11)

> Participatory democracy connotes decentralization of power for direct involvement of amateurs in authoritative decision-making.
> (Cook & Morgan, 1971, p. 4)

There is very little difference in the above definitions, although they are drawn from authors with a variety of orientations. Most authors agree that citizen participation involves some concept of individuals sharing in the making of decisions which affect them.[1] Without context, it is

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[1]It should be noted that the terms public participation, citizen involvement, community participation, citizen action,

virtually impossible to identify the theoretical, philosophical, or practical orientations of an individual author.

The disagreement and confusion in meaning arises, therefore, contextually. That is:

> The term "citizen participation has evolved without a general consensus on who the "citizens" are and how and with what result, they participate. (Stenberg, 1972, p. 160)

There are several historical and theoretical reasons for this evolutionary problem.

3.3 Historical Context

Cunningham (1972) traces the ups and downs of citizen participation from the paleolithic and neolithic ages to the present. From his tracings, he concluded that citizen participation is a complex epiphenomenon which requires the prerequisites of urbanism, relative peace and prosperity, and diffused learning.

Since World War II, the prerequisites for citizen participation, as discussed by Cunningham, seem to have existed. There has been relative peace and prosperity (in comparison with other eras), increased urbanization, and higher levels of education among the masses. The pervasiveness of the electronic media has contributed to increased levels of information in a wider base of the population.

The increased salience of citizen participation in this complex, urbanized milieu may be viewed as dialectical.

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community involvement, and even participatory democracy, have at times all been used synonymously in the literature. They may be used so in this thesis.

This milieu has not only provided the conditions necessary for citizen participation (Cunningham, 1972), but has created the conditions which make citizen participation a necessity (Cahn & Passett, 1970; Hutcheson & Steggert, 1970; Kaufman in Connolly, 1969; Riedel, 1972) if the urbanized milieu is to survive. William Burch Jr. (1976) suggests that public participation can be seen as part of an extinction frenzy--civilization becoming unglued--or as a mechanism for maintaining survival stability. Burch does not enlighten the reader much as to what he is trying to convey, but his suggestion supports the dialectical dimension of the salience of the phenomenon. Citizen participation may be viewed as both a symptom and a cure. The rise of citizen participation is considered as both a symptom of the problems of alientation, apathy, powerlessness, and the failings of modern representative democracy; and simultaneously, the cure for the same problems.

Hutcheson and Steggert (1970), for example, state that citizen participation is a basic tenet of democracy. The more influence the governed have in the decision-making process, the more democratic the political system. The problem in the urbanized milieu of today, according to Hutcheson and Steggert, is access to influence in a mass society. They suggest that the increased complexity and demand for specialization has left many citizens without the knowledge to grasp the meaning and importance of some basic policy issues.

Of the three traditional modes of access to influence (Hutcheson & Steggert, 1970)--voting, interest group pressure, and the acquisition of an individual position of success--interest group pressure has become a more salient path to influence than the other two. Voting has become a less efficacious method of intervening in the decision-making process; it is less issue-oriented, the voter has less information now than earlier, and electoral districting has diluted the impact of densely populated areas. Only a small per centage of the population is wealthy enough to have direct, individual access to influence through economic leverage. Hence, the need for, and the increased dependence upon, organized group activity as a means of access to influence.

Cahn and Cahn (in Cahn & Passett, 1971), writing in a similar vein, suggest that the increased expertise, professionalism, and specialization of today pose a threat to the democratic credo, which rejects government by an elite, and rests ultimate authority in citizen qua citizen. Citizen participation, in their view, is a catalyst for

> . . . the redefinition of the relationship between the citizen and his government in a democratic society founded upon individual rights and liberties.
> (in Cahn & Passett, 1971, p. 10)

Arnold Kaufman (in Connolly, 1969) suggests that the kind of coalition politics, present in Western democracies today, have not resulted in James Madison's vision of unstable, shifting coalitions which produce a transcendent social stability

of equality. Instead, the existing coalitions have had an oppressive impact on a vast proportion of the population. Large segments of the population have been excluded from equal access to, or participation in, the benefits of the system. The results of this unequal access have been the ills of poverty, apathy, slavishness, inauthenticity, incompetence, manipulation and powerlessness; and ". . . some have come to view participatory democracy as the single most important remedy" (Kaufman, 1969, p. 302) for these ills.

Others suggest that the failings of modern representative democracy lie with the unresponsiveness of the elite, and that this has helped to increase the salience of participation. Styles (1971) suggests that the elite must be responsive to many. This, he says, is the essence of the rise of the participation issue. The implication is that the responsiveness of the elite has been lacking.

Charles Frankel's (1962) interpretation of the "democratic prospect", warns that a democratic government can only command the disciplined allegiance of the governed if it can convince them

> . . . that they (the governed) are being consulted, and that there is an effective way of making trouble within established arrangements and not despite them. (p. 20)

The turbulence of the middle and late sixties implies that the governed are no longer convinced.

James Reidel (1972) incorporates both the problems of access to influence and the unresponsiveness of the elites:

> Concern for participation arises almost entirely in the context of real or imagined failure of government to respond appropriately to the more competitive needs and demands of citizens, some of whom feel that the response would have been more satisfactory had their values been given an assured fair hearing. (p. 212)

This kind of dialectical increase in the salience of citizen participation provides some of the historical context for the phenomenon.

Although, what Stenberg (1972) terms " blue-ribbon" citizens participated in post WWII American programs, there is little written about citizen participation prior to the sixties. Literature before then seems mainly concerned with indirect participation such as voting or belonging to political parties. During the sixties, however, movements such as the New Left, Black Power, Women's Rights, and Welfare Rights flourished. The infamous War on Poverty program in the United States with its "maximum feasible participation" redefined participation and the participants. The participants were to be those people affected by programs, with a neighbourhood rather than a city-wide orientation (Stenberg, 1972). Participation was redefined as power not persuasion; adversary not advisory; cooperation not co-optation.

By the sixties too, Canada, Australia, and Britain (Head in Draper, 1971; Chamberlain, 1977; Davies, 1975) had jumped on the rhetorical bandwagon. The UN (1975) has leapt on board with great enthusiasm because the rhetoric promises equalization of the benefits of development, and

government made easy. Whether or not the imposition of Western democratic thought on non-Western developing countries is any less ethnocentric than the imposition of other Western ideas is a moot question beyond the scope of this thesis. The point is that by the sixties, the cry for citizen participation had reached global proportions.

This rise in the salience of citizen participation and the redefinitions of the citizens and participation, blurred some theoretical lines.

3.4 Theoretical Context

Pateman (1970) outlines two primary bodies of democratic theory: contemporary representative democracy and classical participatory democracy. The former, which Pateman says originates with Joseph Schumpeter, is a descriptive method of arriving at political decisions. The latter, which Pateman considers to originate with Rousseau, is a prescriptive ideal for society. A summary comparison of these two theories is presented in Table 2.

One of the major differences between the two theories lies in the function of participation (Table 2). The function of participation in contemporary theory is primarily as a preservative of the system through protection against tyranny. This is operationalized by the regular elections of an elite who are responsive to the majority in order to maintain their power. This is mainly an extrinsic function.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF CONTEMPORARY AND CLASSICAL THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY[2]

Variable	Contemporary Representative Democracy	Classical Participatory Democracy
Theory Type	descriptive, empirical	normative, prescriptive
Mode	political method	political end
Distinguishing Feature	elections of leaders for decision-making	direct participation of citizens in decision-making
Political Equality	universal sufferage equal access to influence	equal power and control
Functions of Participation	election enabling protection from tyranny protection of individual rights	education integration efficacy acceptance of decisions
Definition of Participation	voting	decision-making
Scope of Participation	political institutions	all institutions
System Maintenance	regular elections	direct participation

[2]Summarized and based on Pateman, C. Participation and Democratic Theory. London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

The cracks in this preservative have led many back to the earlier, so-called "classical" theory of participatory democracy in which participation has both extrinsic and intrinsic functions; and it is participation, and not elections which is central to the establishment and maintenance of a democratic polity.

This theory bears a closer look because it is a normative, rather than descriptive, theory, and this research is addressed to a normative problem; and because the kind of participation conceptualized in the classical theory seems most relevant to community development.

The mutual inclusiveness of politics and community pervades the classical theories of democracy. Aristotle (in Minar & Greer, 1969) believed that forms of association (community) evolved from the family to the village (off-shoot of the family) to the polis (a number of villages) which was the final and perfect association. He believed that the polis was the natural result of association, and retained the character of the earlier associations from which it grew. The polis, however, became prior in the order of nature to the family, and the individual, because the whole is prior to the part and the part cannot exist when the whole is destroyed. A polis is made of common perceptions of good and evil, just and unjust. Justice was the end result of association in a polis.

It should be noted that Artistotle still believed in differential rather than universal participation. There was an element which naturally ruled by virtue of intelligence and ability to exercise forethought, and an element which was naturally ruled. Those who ruled, though, ruled through direct rather than representative participation, and this is one of the key differences between contemporary and classical democratic theory. Those who advocate direct participation are considered to be theorists of classical participatory democracy.

Pateman (1970) calls Rousseau "the theorist par excellence of participation" (p. 22) and his entire theory hinges on the individual participation of each citizen in political decision-making. Under conditions of economic equality independence, citizens would act as independent equals who were also interdependent. Each individual would be equally dependent on the others. This interdependence is enforced through independent participation from which the general will emerges. Rousseau believed that the general will would be tautologically just because it affected equally. Individual rights and interests would be protected, and the public interest furthered. The function of participation becomes primarily educative: the participatory process effects responsible, individual social and political action:

> . . . the individual is educated to distinguish between his own impulses and desires, he learns to be a public as well as private citizen.
> (Pateman, 1970, p. 25)

The Aristotalian ideas of the importance of the polis, participation, and justice are still cornerstones of participatory democracy theory. The inseparability of community and politics is still a key concept. Rousseau theorized that participation increased the individual's sense of belonging in their community and that

> . . . the experience of participation in decision-making itself . . . attaches the individual to his society and is instrumental in developing it into a true community.
>
> (Pateman, 1970, p. 27)

Pateman includes John Stuart Mill and G.D.H. Cole with Rousseau in her short list of the greats of participatory theory. John Stuart Mill defined government as a "set of organized arrangements for public business". Good government, he theorized, promotes good management of the affairs of society and promotes the general mental advancement of the community (intellect, virtue, practical activity, and efficiency). Participation provides the self-sustaining character of a political system--not the election of leaders.

Mill added the dimension of local government to Rousseau's theory. He believed that people learned how to govern themselves at the local level. Mill did, however, as Rousseau did not, recognize the need for a representative system at the national level in a large scale society. Pateman calls this his "grand difficulty". Mill could not reconcile elite rule with accountability. It would follow, however, that the

educative effect of direct participation at the local level should equip citizens to responsibly assess their elected representatives at a larger level, and to demand the necessary accountability.

Mill again reinforced the inseparability of community and politics--the contribution of political participation towards the creation of community: through participation, the individual "becomes consciously a member of a great community" (Mill quoted in Pateman, 1970, p. 33).

Pateman, herself, seems most sympathetic to the theory of G.D.H. Cole who believed that participation must begin in the workplace. Industry should provide the arena for the educative effect of participation, and industry then becomes the avenue to a truly democratic polity. This stems from the view that all institutions are political systems. People could not be expected to want to participate directly in one system of authority when they were psychologically and physically unable to participate in all the other systems of authority. Thus, for the operation of a democratic polity at the national level, the scope of the term political must be extended to cover institutions and systems outside of government.

The kind of participation advocated by the theorists described above, theoretically results in better citizens, and a redefinition of citizenship from passive membership to an active position with rights and responsibilities (Cook & Morgan, 1971; Hart, 1972). This evolves from the effects of

participation: the education, the feeling of belonging, the acceptance of collective decisions (Pateman, 1970; Rousseau in Cook & Morgan, 1971); a change in attitudes, values, beliefs, and an increased sense of efficacy (Cook & Morgan, 1971); and a shift in responsibility from the elite to the broader base of citizenry (Rousseau, de Toqueville in Cook & Morgan, 1971).

These participation effects are argued to lead to better decisions.

> . . . participatory democracy leads participants to acquisition of more abundant, accurate, and coherent information on public affairs; thus these participants become aware of possible alternative solutions to problems and are better equipped to make a rational selection of policy means appropriate to goals.
>
> (Cook & Morgan, 1971, p. 9)

Cook and Morgan further argue that the current system, while perhaps responsive to the will of the majority, is still unresponsive to the disadvantaged minorities. Participatory democracy, therefore, offers an alternative to the violence which erupted in the sixties when minority groups attempted to affect decisions which affected their lives. The decisions which are made through participation would reflect the common good which is often different from the will of the majority, and would thus be responsive to both the majority and the minority.

The argument that participation protects against tyranny has been further modernized by Cook and Morgan. They point out that the dispersion of power and authority provides a further check on the growth of government power to coerce

and control through the better instruments and techniques of political control available today. The access to the results of behavioral and scientific research, and access to technology should be dispersed and not solely available to those with superior economic and political power.

The ultimate result of the educative function of participation is an informed, responsible citizen who is able to maintain his individualism, while basking in the warmth of belonging to a community; and who is intensely involved in making decisions which simultaneously protect individual rights and the common good. The society becomes an organic, cooperative environment with none of the maladies of the current competitive condition.

Pateman (1970) summarily contrasts the contemporary with the classical democratic theory by suggesting that the former model provides maximum output from leaders with minimum input from citizens. The latter model, could be characterized as one where:

> . . . maximum input (participation) is required and where output includes not just policies (decisions) but also the development of the social and political capacities of each individual, so that there is "feedback" from output to input.
>
> (p. 43)

The new advocates of a return to classical participatory democracy as the panacea for 20th century ills believed that the change from minimum to maximum citizen input would require revolution. One of the first modern expressions of this maximum

input system is recorded in the Port Huron Statement of 1964. This student power, New Left statement, primarily penned by Tom Hayden, called for:

> ". . . the establishment of a democracy of individual participation governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation." (quoted in Cook & Morgan, 1971, p. ix)

Since the time of the Port Huron Statement, there has been a host of advocates, borrowers, bootleggers, cultists, critics, interpreters, and evaluators of the kind of participatory democracy articulated by the New Left.

The attempts at putting this kind of participation into practice have unfortunately been rather dismal. As Cook and Morgan (1971) lament, ". . . there are not very many examples of organizations or groups run effectively on participatory democracy" (p. 147). Cook and Morgan's anthology on participatory democracy is replete with authors pointing out the pitfalls of incipient totalitarianism (Feuer); factionalization (Milstein); return to bureaucratization (Lenin); the failure to recognize the existence of nations, and need for national coordination (Etzioni in Cook & Morgan, 1971; Cunningham, 1972; Stenberg, 1972); and the failure to recognize competence (Kaufman in Connolly, 1969) which victimize participatory democracy.

There was rampant disagreement over such questions as who the people are; the appropriate context for participation;

the reality of differential participation and how to deal with non-participants; the status of the dissenter; the appropriate size, structure, and function of participatory units; the accurate determination of the public interest; the provision of accurate information; the appropriate decision-making methodology; the interrelationship and coordination of participatory units; and the dilemma of motivation without manipulation. Irving Kirstol warned that:

> ". . . participatory democracy requires that all people be fit to govern; and this in turn requires that all people be made fit to govern, by rigid and uniform educational training, constant public indoctrination, close supervision of private morals and beliefs and so forth . . . to make all people legislators is willy-nilly to abolish the category of private citizen altogether."
> (quoted in Cook & Morgan, 1971, p. 33)

In any case, the people proved quiescent and the revolution failed. The theoretical tapestry of participatory democracy, lay, in a tangled web of theoretical threads, unravelled by the ravages of the battles of application in the real world.

As the participation song grew rather cacophanous in the ranks of the revolutionaries, the Establishment picked up the music. It is here that the theoretical lines blur. Those who began advocating citizen participation proposed that an increase in the quality and quantity of participation was a means of strengthening the crumbling representative democratic system (Hart, 1972). They took over the words, however, but not the melody, and attempted to set them to their own theoretical tune of representative democracy. Establishment program policy became filled with the rhetoric

of participatory democracy and the result was to be a perfect symphony of the two--a sort of Hegelian synthesis arising from the mist of the battlefield.

The participants were defined as the recipients of programs, who were, in Kaufman's terms (in Connolly, 1969) that large segment of the population who had been oppressed, who did not have access to the benefits of society. Participation was redefined, as mentioned earlier, to be partnership, cooperation, and control instead of persuasion and cooperation. One may cynically suspect that this redefinition of the participants and participation was made imperative by the actions of people like Tom Hayden and his apostles; and that the real reason for it was the recognition that it was no longer possible to govern the masses without some form of participation.

In all fairness, the Reformists did freely admit that participation was definitely a means to achieve goals with greater commitment and to implement policy more effectively (Dubey, 1972; Strange, 1972). They also believed in the educative, efficacious, and integrative functions of participation. In other words, participation by the recipients of social programs would mean that not only the programs were more appropriate, and thus likely to be implemented, but that participation would help overcome the sense of powerlessness on the part of the recipients by increasing political awareness and self-help potential.

The theoretical boundaries between participatory democracy and representative democracy thus blurred between the Functions of participation (see Table 2). Unfortunately, as countless evaluations and commentaries reveal, it was impossible to keep the other theoretical lines of demarcation clear.[3]

The functions of participation, according to classical theory, could not be transferred in isolation from the rest of the theory, and easily incorporated into contemporary theory of representative democracy. There seemed to be no confortable place to put these functions within a theory which defined democracy as a political method, and where the distinguishing feature of that method was the elections of leaders for decision-making.

There was no consensus on the goals of participation (i.e. to promote better service utilization, to help the poor gain power, or to create significant social change). There was a lack of agreement on the degree of participation and on whether or not participants had the right to sanction policy as well as advise. The real dilmema was that:

> . . . participation is an essential element in the process of social change since it alone provides the opportunity to create a sense of group identity that is essential if one is to effect change. Organization begets power and power brings changes in benefits. (Strange, 1972, p. 659)

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[3]See for example Dubey, 1972; Cahn & Passett, 1971; Hetherington, 1972; Riedel, 1972; Strange, 1972; Warren, 1971; Zimmerman, 1972.

The government could not afford to fund the revolution inevitable with those changes.

The emphasis on the participation component of programs has consequently reverberated from being essential to being optional to being non-existent.[4] When participation is a component of programs, it hovers as some undefineable entity without clear goals and guidelines. This is understandable because--program implementation notwithstanding--there is no clarity on what should be the end result of participation.

The lack of success criteria for legislated citizen participation seems rather unsurprising in light of the foregoing contexts of the historical, dialectic salience of the phenomenon, and the blurred theory which surrounds it. The community development agents who may find themselves working to facilitate the participation of citizens, as mandated by public policy, are working within this blurred theoretical context with a dialectic chimera.

One possible route out of the fog and one possible way to achieve some synthesis of the symptom-cure dialectic of citizen participation may be to focus on the shared boundary between the classical and contemporary theories of democracy--the functions of citizen participation.

When the contemporary theorists (reformists) adopted the classical functions of participation as a panacea for the

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[4]Moynihan (1970) documents this kind of shift in the U.S. Community Action Program.

ills of modern representative democracy, the problems of classical theory came with the package. These problems were briefly alluded to earlier, but as they are now shared problems, they warrant further discussion. In these shared problems, lies the root of several of the gaps in normative theory for citizen participation--and they are gaps now for both classical and contemporary-reformist advocates.

3.5 Theoretical Problems

The theoretical problems of participation are basically, who the citizens are, and why, how, and with what result they participate. While this research is focussed on "with what result" in terms of the objectives and success criteria for legislated citizen participation, the other problems are not mutually exclusive, and cannot be ignored. Although both contemporary -reformists and classical theorists have posed these questions, the contemporary-reformists have generally been reduced to posing them as an analysis of why government programs with a citizen participation component have failed (Cunningham, 1972; Dubey, 1972; Stenberg, 1972; Strange, 1972; Warren, 1971). It is the advocates of classical theory who have suggested more of the possible answers. The fact that the gaps still remain is indicative of the inadequacy of the proposals.

Hart (1972) suggests that the most crucial of the problems is why should people participate. The justification,

according to participatory theorists is, of course, the belief in the right of every individual to participate in--not observe--their own lives. This justification is harmonious with the philosophical assumptions and ideology of community development, as discussed in chapter 1.

Hart suggests that advocates of participation have used justificatory shortcuts such as:

> . . . one cannot fully understand the justificatory arguments for participation until one has been educated by participation, at which time the need for justification will have disappeared. (p. 607)

He further suggests that not only must the critics of participation be convinced of a reason to participate, but that the people themselves must be convinced.

Hart says that our political culture discourages participation; people are diffident, disinterested, and hostile when provided with the opportunity to participate; and they believe in experts. Riedel (1972) outlines what he considers the "harsh political realities of citizen participation" which include:

> Even under the best of conditions, most people tend to avoid participation and involvement. (p. 212)

People no longer feel that they have the expertise to make decisions in the complex, urbanized milieu of today, and do not know how to participate (Hart, 1972).

The litarature provides no real answers to these kinds of problems, other than the kind of justificatory shortcut

which Hart (1972) attacks. The problem of justification lies not as Hart suggests, solely in the participation advocate's dismissal of arguments against participation as being status-quo preserving or trivial, but is inherent in the other theoretical problems outlined briefly below.

(a) Who are the citizens and what is the appropriate context for participation? Participatory theorists differ as to who the people are, and as to the proper locus of decision-making. Some (for example, Pateman, 1970) argue for participation in the work place as the best training ground for participation in wider areas. This would be participation in cooperative activities; is "public", ultimately related to the wider society and its needs; and involves individuals in decisions about collective affairs.

Others envision territorial units (for example, Kotler, 1969; Lynd in Cook & Morgan, 1971; Hayden in Cook & Morgan, 1971). Cook and Morgan's (1971) anthology on participatory democracy is laced with writers who advocate participation in everything from schools to police forces. Reformists have run the gamut between having "blue ribbon" citizens advise on programs, to having the target population "participate" in some fashion, and back again to some amorphous mix between the two.

The idealistic solution is that the people themselves should decide the context of participation. As Cook and Morgan suggest, the people cannot decide until someone decides who are the people! This creates a rather circular kind of theoretical problem.

Related to the problem of defining who the citizens are, is the problem of the non-participant. Social participation[5] is a differential rather than universal phenomenon is our current political culture (Foskett in Sussman, 1959). In other words, participation is not distributed evenly, or uniformly throughout the population but concentrated in a minority of citizens.

Verba, Nie, Barbic et al. (1973) isolated four modes of political activity: voting, campaign activity, communal activity, and particularized contacting. They studied participation in these modes in Austria, India, the U.S.A., Japan, Nigeria, the Netherlands, and Yugoslavia, and concluded that campaign activity and communal activity were most closely related to each other, and to an overall dimension of political activity, thus forming a common core. Only 4% of their sample participated in this common core, overall dimension of political activity. While nothing is included in the article about sampling technique, or socio-economic descriptions of this cross-cultural sample, other researchers (for example Foskett in Sussman, 1959; Long, 1971; McClusky, 1970; Wilson, 1963; Hobkirk in Ley, 1973; Rothman, 1974) point out that voluntary participation is primarily concentrated in the middle class.

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[5]Social participation was defined for the purposes of Foskett's research as:

> those acts of individuals which more or less directly relate to issues, problems, or proposals having to do with some phase of community life.
> (in Sussman, 1959, p. 315)

While this socio-economic correlation with participation and the rather low levels of participation may not be insurmountable problems, it is suggested that careful thought is required to ensure that all people are not only provided with the option to participate, but also possess the ability to exercise that option. Currently, according to many writers, it seems that neither of these conditions exist (see for example, Graves, 1972; Foskett in Sussman, 1959; Wilson and Bennett, 1967; Dubey, 1972; McClusky, 1970).

David Hart (1972) raises another consideration about non-participation which does not relate to socio-economic factors. He wonders about the "sloth" who will not wish to exert the effort to participate; those who do not like public associations and who wish to maintain their privacy; and those who are creative and contemplative, and must work in a solitary non-public environment. He also queries the status of the dissenter--what happens to those who disagree with participation, and what form would dissent take?

No one has, as yet, really grappled with these issues. Even if they are solved, and somehow the citizens and the context of participation are defined; if somehow all are convinced of the reasons for participation and clamouring for the right, another theoretical problem exists.

(b) What is the appropriate size, and structure, of a participatory unit? The optimum scale for a participatory unit has not been determined. There is an inverse relationship

between the size of the unit and the opportunity for members to participate (Cook & Morgan, 1971). The adult male citizenry of Athens never exceeded 40,000--is this an optimum or maximum? Dahl (in Cook & Morgan, 1971) suggests a modest-sized city as most suitable, and terms as modest 50-200,000 people. This number, he says, may be within the critical threshold for optimum wide civic participation. This raises the question of whether participation means physical presence, or the opportunity to speak.

Cook and Morgan suggest that 500 may be an optimum number if every participant is to speak. Group dynamicists may strongly disagree, and behavior analyses of small group behavior becomes, what Wengert (1976) terms, a residual problem with participatory theory. For example, with all variables considered equal for discussion purposes, what size of group is optimum for equal, active participation? Should this size be determined, then structure becomes an issue.

Dahl (in Cook & Morgan) sees a series of Chinese boxes--smaller units inside larger units. Kotler (1969) envisions neighbourhood government in the form of neighbourhood corporations. Hayden (in Cook & Morgan) calls for a network of free territories linked by Revolutionary Councils, and united by an underground press, culture, conferences, and constant travel.

Paul Goodman (in Cook & Morgan) advocates a series of spontaneous, voluntary organizations complemented by the formal decentralization of now centralized authority. Where, how, and

how much decentralization, he says, requires further research. Rousseau's (in Cook & Morgan) Social Contracts III and IV called for small-scale participatory legislatures or diets.

The reformist team has no real answers either. Sweetser (in Sussman, 1959) talks about a multi-plane, ascendent kind of model with representatives from the dominant elements at each level and representatives from the next lower level. These planes begin at block level and end at city-wide with horizontal communication within each plane and vertical communication among planes. Only the top level in this model has direct contact with real policy makers.

Stenberg (1972) looks at a local government tri-partite strategy which includes resident participation on policy boards or advisory councils as consultants; with "little city halls"; and the establishment of community development corporations. The funding source, and possible disadvantages of micro politanization are some of the problems he outlines with this strategy.

Washnis (1974) suggests a city wide board composed of neighbourhood councils and appointments from the city's chief executive. The board would be a supplement to the city council, not a competition. Washnis further suggests that no more than 20 people is the most "effective" size for this kind of board.

Strange (1972) discusses the 1968 work of Arnstein and Fox for HUD who outlined five possible structures for participation: (1) a coalition policy making group with

representation from government and neighbourhood associations; (2) a central planning group staffed by residents; (3) a residents advisory or coordinating group to assist a professional planning group; (4) a professional advisory group responsive to residents that would assist the professional planners; and (5) planning groups or task forces established according to function with heavy resident participation. Seaver (in Spiegel, 1968) says that there is "no single format or procedure for citizen engagement that applies to all." (p. 69)

Inherent in many of the proposals for structures are the issues of representativeness and accountability. These become cogent particularly when the possibility exists that all citizens will not be actively, directly participating. The HUD guide, referred to earlier suggests that specific selection procedures and methods for maintaining accountability to constituents are required. For example, specific, well-published, times for the selection of election of representatives; open meetings; regular reports to constituencies and recall procedures are suggested. Sweetser's earlier work (in Sussman, 1959) identified dominant elements in each of his planes which should be represented: economics, domestic, educational, religious, governmental (agencies), welfare, and civic. He did not explain how these representatives might be selected, nor how they remain accountable within or among the planes.

The above provides a sampling of thought on this problem of size and structure. None of these proposals necessarily ensures that citizens have the right to sanction as well as to advise, and this raises another theoretical problem upon which size and structure of a participatory unit are rather dependent: function and role.

(c) What should be the function and role of a participation unit? The function--what decisions are made--of a participatory unit is perhaps one of the most critical theoretical problems with participation. Much of the debate seems to concern at what level what decisions should be made. As Cook and Morgan (1971) warn:

> . . . the primary problems of our world and its natural communities are not amenable to solution by small-scale direct democracy. (p. 28)

Therefore, the participatory units could become overwhelmed with problems which do not originate at that level, or become engrossed with trivial, parochial concerns.

Etzioni (in Cook & Morgan, 1971) suggests that there cannot be effective micro participation unless there is effective macro participation--that is, participation at the national level outside of an individual's personal interest. Unless people participate in causes beyond personal gratification, participation will have a "restless, Sisyphean quality." (p. 66).

It must be determined at what level decisions can be made which fulfill legislative, executive, judicial, interest

orientation, interest aggregation, and communication functions in society (Wengert, 1976). Paul Goodman (in Cook & Morgan, 1971) urges decentralization of all items to the neighbourhood levelexcept when there are no district limitations (such as epidemics, smog); when an arbitrary decision is required and there is no time for reflection (such as traffic); where arbitrary standards must be set out, but the particular standard is indifferent (such as money); and when an emergency requires the concentration of all powers in a concerted effort (such as war). Who decides what decisions meet these conditions? As Hart (1972) says:

> . . . time is increasingly unforgiving and we have entered into an era of accelerating crises, so much of the policy-making of the future will undoubtedly take place in crisis situations. (p. 616)

Within a representative system, the answer to what decisions a participatory unit makes may lie within a particular, substantive program area. Even within this area, the question remains unsolved as to what decisions are made at what level. This literature is more engrossed with the issue of citizen control and is rather void of discussion on control over what. The role of the participatory unit becomes confused with function in this literature, according to the rather arbitrary definition of function being used in this discussion.

The role of a participatory unit--particularly within a representative system is another thorny issue. It is difficult to separate role from function from structure from a definition of citizens. Kramer (1969) for example, suggested four modes

of participation: policy-making, program development, social action and employment. These could be considered as possible roles, as could the modes of campaign activity and communal activity used by Verba, Nie, Barbic et al. (1973).

Cook and Morgan (1971) provide one of the more succinct modular discussions concerning structure and role. They identify two main structures: a co-determination model and a self-determination model. The former is a structure in which amateurs and non-amateurs make joint decisions. The amateurs are usually elected or appointed to an existing body of non-amateurs. The self-determination model is composed solely of amateurs.

Each of these structures may have two roles: the authority to initiate, ratify or change rules; or only the authority to implement rules which come from another source. Cook and Morgan are thus presenting four models:

1. Co-determination with rule-making authority
2. Co-determination confined to rule implementation
3. Self-determination with rule-making authority
4. Self-determination confined to rule implementation

They do not, however, pursue the problem of which model is appropriate for what decisions in what situations. Given the existence of a theoretical solution for the problems of function and role, theorists are still faced with other theoretical and logistical problems such as the decision-making methodology of a participation unit, the determination

of the public interest, and the interrelationship and coordination of a participatory unit with other bodies.

(d) Decision-making methodology. The ideal decision-making methodology for participatory units is consensus derived from the emergence of the general will. Cook and Morgan (1971) warn that until the psychological changes occur through participation, the bulk of the population will be apathetic and uninformed. This could encourage elitist tendencies, and participatory democracy could degenerate into plebiscite democracy, where participation becomes acclamation politics (Cook & Morgan). Tyranny from above could be replaced by tyranny from within; and the general will may not emerge, but instead be submerged.

The danger of small scale tyranny becomes very real where there are no checks and balances; and dissensus has little room in a society based on consensus. Some method must be established for dealing with dissent and its resultant minority groups. Wengert (1976) also urges that the allocation of costs as well as the benefits must be considered.

Within a representative system, the method of decision-making in a unit becomes rather less important than the accountability of that unit, for its decisions, to the rest of the community. Accountability becomes particularly critical in view of the differential nature of participation discussed earlier. Foskett (in Sussman, 1959) warns that one effect of differential participation is that the kinds of decisions reached are often biased in the direction of the values and

interests of those who participate. Pepper's (1973) work on ad hoc advisory councils to government, points out that this kind of participation creates a structure delegating a policy-determining role to an elite, non-elected group who are responsive to their own values and standards; not to a constituency.

Perhaps accountability would not be such a critical problem if there was a guarantee that the decisions reached were an accurate reflection of the public interest. The determination of the public interest is, however, another theoretical problem.

(e) Determination of the public interest. The ideal value criterion for policy decisions is the "public interest" (Hart, 1972). The dilemma here becomes what is the public interest, how is it determined, and is it that of the majority or otherwise?

This dilemna is the subject of ongoing debate among theorists and commentators from many disciplines and at many levels. For example, Friedman (1973) re-names it the "public good" and suggests that it contains both process and substantive dimensions. The process is basically the allocation and uses of power. While the substantive aspect is bound with the principle of "equal access to the resources of the environment of individual persons, families, and other sub-communities which make up the larger moral community that helps to sustain them" (Friedmann, 1973, p. 5).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into the above debate. At the level of the thesis, however, and with its focus on participation within a representative democracy, the determination of the public interest may be diluted somewhat, and translated into the determination of community needs with respect to a particular program containing mandated citizen participation. These needs are theoretically the basis upon which decisions are reached within a program; who determines the needs, how they should be determined, and how accurately that determination reflects the common good are cogent concerns for this kind of participation.

These concerns are also related to the problems of information: the availability, accuracy, and completeness of the information on which decisions are based. Decisions based on inaccurate and incomplete information could not be considered good decisions, and information appears to be a very key problem with legislated citizen participation.

Dennis (in Sewell & Coppock, 1977) suggests that the "rank-and-file" are generally insulated from knowledge because there is selective entry into the information channels, and the disclosure of information is controlled. Taylor (in Spiegel, 1969) states that a neighbourhood structure must have the assistance it needs to bargain and negotiate effectively. Information which is trusted, must be available for the critical analysis of alternatives. Taylor puts forward the idea of Independent Technical Assistance (I.T.A.) for these groups

in order to combat the kind of insulation and information control which Dennis talks about. I.T.A. would make available to participants, under their control, resources to provide trustworthy technical assistance and expertise.

Without I.T.A., the flow of information in a government program--particularly with respect to the program participants--is rather dependent upon program delivery agencies. This raises yet another theoretical problem: the interrelationship and coordination of participatory units.

(f) Interrelationship and coordination of participatory units. How units should relate to other decision-making units, and to society at large is an unresolved theoretical issue (Cook & Morgan, 1971; Hart, 1972; Wengert, 1976).

This is a problem for the purely classical theorists--several of whom envision series of small units linked by larger and larger committees--committees up to the nation or even planetary state (for example, Hayden in Cook & Morgan, 1971; Pateman, 1970). The danger is that this organizational format could become oppressive and bureaucratic. The difference, suggest these theorists, lies in the creation of the hierarchies from the base rather than the top; the key is effective, open participation at the local level.

Beyond the local level, some kind of representative system seems necessary, and it is this combination of participation with representation which is particularly salient for mandated citizen participation. At the local level itself,

there may be many units which must strive for some kind of balance of power and function; some division of labour which renders them not mutually exclusive, but not duplicative competitors. Concomitant is the coordination and interrelationship of these units with the various levels of representative government. The literature is full of the problems, but rather silent on solutions for these matters.

This particular theoretical problem, and the other ones discussed briefly above are a rather generic representation of some of the gaps in normative theory for citizen participation--from both the classical and contemporary viewpoints. These gaps, when considered within the fuzzy theoretical boundaries between the two viewpoints, are particularly noticeable. They appear to stem from the more global problem in this shared area, which is the lack of clear, explicit, agreed upon goals for citizen participation.

If the goals for citizen participation were defined, it would be much easier to attempt theoretical solutions for some of the problems. For example, the justification for participation would no longer have to be phrased only ideologically; it could be related to the goals. If the goals were clear, we might be able to decide who the citizens are; how they participate; the kind of structure which could be used; the function of a participatory unit as well as come to terms with some of the other questions.

This tie between the goals and the theoretical problems seems rather a strong one. The relationship between success

criteria and the goals of mandated citizen participation has been discussed earlier. These theoretical ties and relationships among goals, success criteria and the problems are useful for this research.

It seems impossible to adequately solve these problems without an adequate definition of the goals of legislated citizen participation; and equally impossible to formulate adequate, theoretical goals for participation without some cognizance of these problems. If some of the problems with legislated citizen participation could be explored within the outlined limits of the research, then perhaps the data would reveal some possible solution for the problems of lack of goals and thus success criteria, for this kind of citizen participation. Therefore, it seemed plausible to use the problem areas discussed above, as categories for theoretical sampling in this research. It is within this framework that much of the data was collected and analyzed.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has been a review of the literature on citizen participation at a somewhat macro-level. The overwhelming amount of material on this subject has necessitated a rather general, and somewhat stringent, overview for the purpose of providing a broad theoretical framework for the research without presenting an encyclopedia of citizen participation.

A definition of citizen participation as having something to do with the involvement or sharing of individuals in decisions which affect them, was found to be common in the literature. Without context, this common definition was rather meaningless. The historical and theoretical contexts for the phenomenon of citizen participation were thus reviewed. Historically, the increased salience of citizen participation after World War II was seen as dialectical. In other words, the urbanized, complex milieu of post World War II society seemed to create conditions which were not only necessary for citizen participation to occur, but also make it a necessity if this society is to survive.

This increase in the salience of citizen participation was found to have blurred some of the theoretical lines between contemporary and classical theories of democracy. This blurred area is centered around the functions of participation which the contemporary theorists borrowed from classical theory. As a result, the two kinds of theory now share many of the same theoretical problems.

The theoretical problems were discussed rather generically in order to provide a flavour of some of the thought on these problems. Many of these problems seem to stem from the more global problem of lack of goals for citizen participation--particularly within a representative system. This interdependence of the kinds of theoretical problems discussed, and the lack of goals suggests the possible use

of the former as categories for theoretical sampling in order to reveal information about the latter. It is these categories which were used in the research process, in order to generate data which may be useful for the induction of theoretical success criteria for legislated citizen participation.

The next step in the research process, as described in chapter 2, was to examine the participation environment created by the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in order to identify the appropriate comparison groups from which to collect data.

Chapter 4

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program

4.1 Introduction

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) was chosen, as discussed in Chapter 2, as a vehicle for examining legislated citizen participation, from a community development perspective. The kind of participation under investigation often occurs within the context of a particular substantive program area; the program itself--and how it is delivered--is one of the most dominant of the multiple factors which affect the participation environment. The participation experience cannot be examined in isolation; nor wholly extricated from the context of the program. In this case, the context for participation is one of neighbourhood planning.

This chapter contains information about the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, and its operation in Alberta, for three major purposes. Firstly, the information is reported to provide some context for the participation studied, and to provide some knowledge of the participation environment created by NIP and its delivery. Secondly, it is important to look at the program and the participation environment in order to determine the extent to which the findings

from this particular participation experience are generalizable to other experiences. Finally, it is from this information that the comparison groups for theoretical sampling were identified.

The following information is based on the writer's involvement with NIP, as discussed earlier. Much of the hard data, specific to Alberta, can be found in three reports of the Policy and Planning Division, Policy and Program Development Branch, Department of Housing and Public Works, Province of Alberta: Neighbourhood Improvement Programme Status Report, August, 1977; Neighbourhood Improvement Program Evaluation, November 22, 1977; and Neighbourhood Improvement Programme Transfer Report, April, 1978. The writer was involved in the preparation of the first two reports, and co-authored the third. Internal working documents, discussion papers, and meetings were also sources of information.

4.2 The Program

The general and specific objectives of NIP have been discussed earlier. To reiterate briefly, the program was intended as a solution for the problems of deterioration and decline in the inner city, and was a reflection of the trend from renewal to rehabilitation and revitalization. It is stated in the NIP Operator's Handbook (CMHC, 1975) that there were four characteristics inherent in the program, in order to operationalize the above intention. These were an emphasis

on conservation and amenities, financial planning, continuous planning, and resident participation. General guidelines existed for the "specific objectives" of the program, but not for any of the above inherent characteristics.

The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)--a crown corporation responsible to the Ministry of Urban Affairs--administered the program federally, and developed the general guidelines for the program. CMHC entered into an agreement, with each province every year of the program, which specified financial arrangements, neighbourhood selection criteria, and federal, provincial, and municipal responsibilities in the program. Each province then administered the program for the federal government with some contact with regional and local CMHC offices; and could develop further provincial guidelines as deemed necessary which did not contravene the annual federal-provincial agreement.

Each province was responsible for designating municipalities which were to receive monies in a given year, and this designation was based on municipal applications for specific neighbourhoods. The specific neighbourhoods, municipalities and amount of funding allocated to each were incorporated into the annual federal-provincial agreement.

In essence, a particular sum of money was allocated for the revitalization and rehabilitation of a particular neighbourhood. The total allocation for a neighbourhood was cost-shared 50% by the federal government, 25% by the provincial

government, and 25% by the municipal government concerned. How this allocation was to be spent was to be determined by the municipality with resident approval, and in accordance with what was deemed eligible for funding as the legislation was interpreted by CMHC. The municipality was thus responsible for preparing a plan for NIP spending, and this plan was subject to the approval of both the provincial and federal governments.

Within the total allocation, there were also two cost-sharing formulae for items deemed eligible for NIP funding. For example, the costs of neighbourhood selection, planning, acquisition and clearing of land for open space or community facilities, acquisition and clearing of land for social housing, capital cost of construction or acquisition and improvement of social and recreational facilities, development of occupancy and building maintenance standards and relocation of families dispossessed as theresult of the above were cost-shared 50% federal - 25% provincial - 25% municipal (CMHC, 1975). The cost-sharing formula for the improvement of municipal and public utility services, and the acquisition and clearing of land not eligible above, was 25% federal - 25% provincial - 50% municipal (CMHC, 1975). The costs for any items which did not fit into the above cost-sharing formula had to be borne by the municipality. The municipality could also determine how much, if any, of the costs were borne by the neighbourhood residents.

There was also a sister program to NIP called the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP). RRAP was a federal program, directly administered by CMHC, in which individual home owners could obtain grants and loans for home repair. Only those homes within a designated NIP area were eligible for RRAP.

On the basis of the existence of RRAP, in combination with what was deemed eligible for NIP funding, it may be concluded that careful neighbourhood selection, planning, improvement of social and recreation facilities, and improvement of municipal services and housing conditions were what the federal government interpreted as meeting the objectives of NIP and revitalizing and rehabilitating needy neighbourhoods.

The objectives of NIP and the federal interpretation of them were rather vague and unspecific (NIP Evaluation Report, November 22, 1977). For example, there were no guidelines on whether the program was to be a short-term infusion of capital to arrest decay, or whether it was to be a catalyst or seed-money for long-term development; no guidelines on allocation criteria; no guidelines on how to deliver the program. Equally important, there were no guidelines, as mentioned earlier, for the program characteristics of planning and resident participation. While this kind of "flexibility" might be applauded, it led to confusion, and this confusion was not usually assauged at the provincial level, but passed on to the municipalities and the neighbourhood residents

(NIP Evaluation, November 22, 1977; CMHC, November 2, 1977).

In addition, NIP was not used only in the "inner-city" neighbourhoods of the large urban areas for which it was created. Even in the first year of the program's existence, areas were designated under the program in small municipalities. The trend towards allocating funds to small municipalities continued until the largest number of NIP "neighbourhoods" were outside the large urban centers. The problems of applying one program to different areas with different needs led to some additional confusion in delivery. Nevertheless, it is this variation in kind of neighbourhood, and the flexibility particularly for resident participation, which makes the program useful for this research; and NIP has operated and been delivered to these areas since 1974.

4.3 Program Operation in Alberta

At the time of the fieldwork for this research (summer, 1977), there were 28 NIP neighbourhoods in Alberta which were located in 19 municipalities and 2 Improvement Districts. The program at that time was concentrated in the two major urban centers of Edmonton and Calgary, the Drumheller region in the south central part of the province, and the Crowsnest Pass area in the southwest corner.

Figure 2 is a map showing the location of these neighbourhoods. There were 4 designated neighbourhoods in Edmonton, and 5 in Calgary including one site clearance project.[1] The remainder of the projects (17) were located in smaller municipalities. With the exceptions of Grande Prairie, Peace River, Edson and Lethbridge, the entire municipality was designated as a "neighbourhood".

In the final year of program legislation (1977-1978), an additional 22 "neighbourhoods" were designated. This doubled the number of municipalities in the program (now 38) and widened the distribution so that the Peace River district became another area of the program. In addition, the NIP boundaries in Edson were changed to include the entire municipality.[2]

The trends in program operation at the time of this research (NIP Status Report, August, 1977; NIP Evaluation Report, November 22, 1977) were reinforced and solidified, rather than changed, through these additional designations (NIP Transfer Report, April, 1978). This reported reinforcement of program trends thus lends validity to the information about the program, as it operated at the time of the research.

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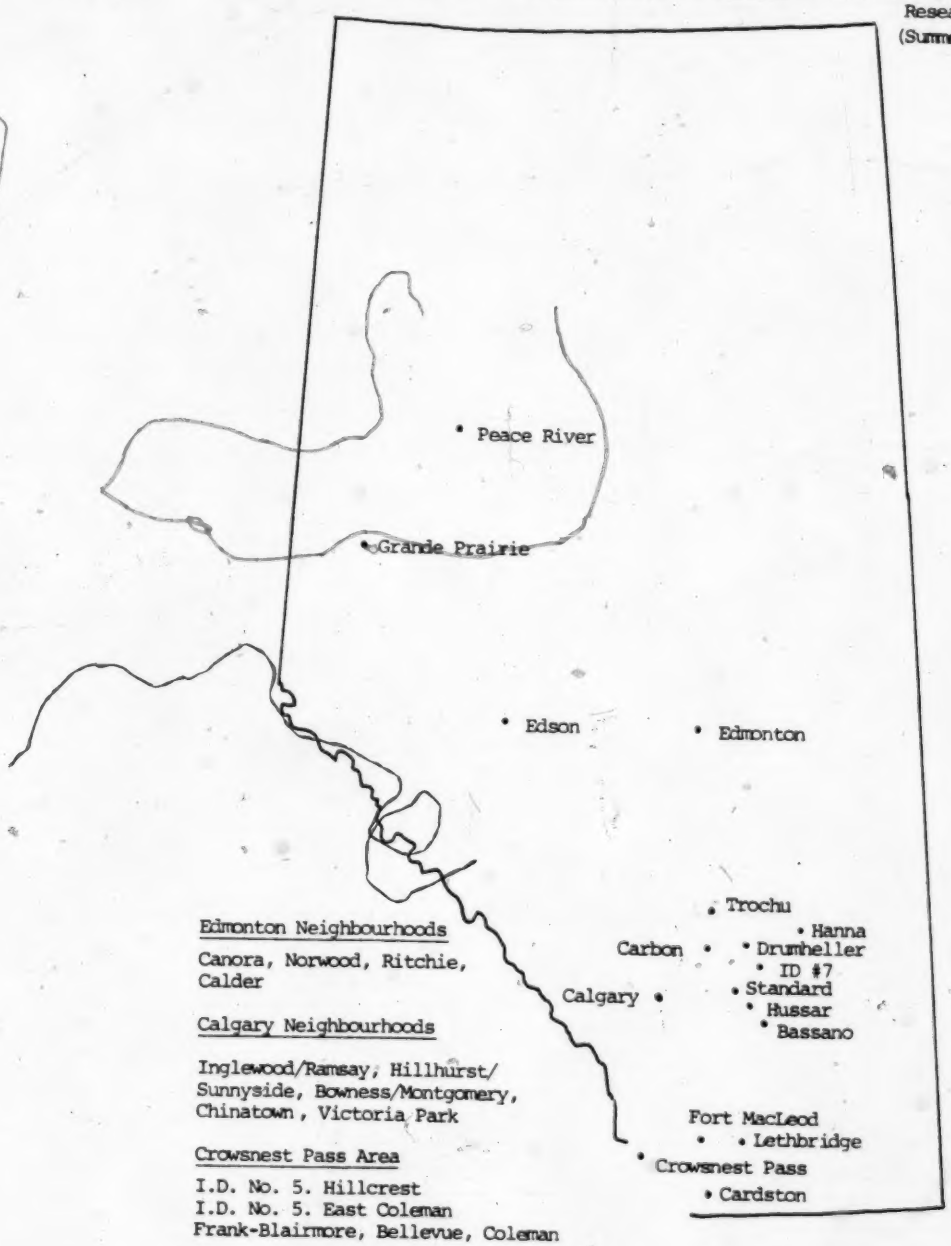
[1] Site clearance was included in NIP legislation and could be used for areas considered beyond rehabilitiation and requiring urban surgery and renewal. The Chinatown area in Calgary was designated under site clearance in 1975, and as such is not really considered a NIP area. At this writing (September 1978) no funds have been spent, to date, under the program.

[2] Edson was not included in the field sample for the research.

Figure 2. Location of NIP Neighbourhoods in Alberta at the Time of Research (Summer, 1977)



This continuity and relative stability in program operation also illustrates the stability of the research environment; one of the reasons for choosing this program as a vehicle for studying citizen participation.

4.3.1 Administration

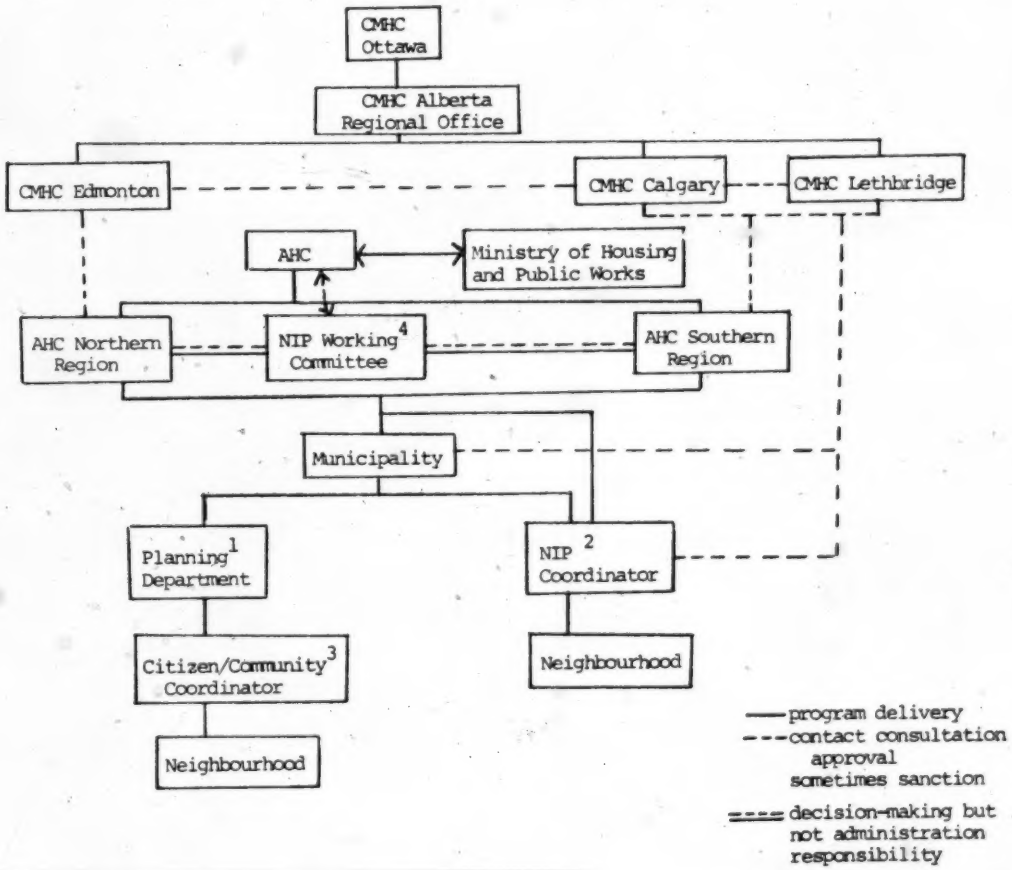
Figure 3 is a chart showing the administration of NIP in Alberta from 1973 until April 1, 1978. The actual administrative lines were not quite as hierarchical as depicted, but the limitations of two-dimensional presentation necessitate this format.

There are three CMHC offices in Alberta, located in Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge, which are responsible to the Alberta Regional Office, which in turn, is responsible to CMHC Ottawa. Each of these three CMHC offices was responsible for the federal role in program delivery in the municipalities under their jurisdiction. The majority of NIP projects, during this time period, were located in areas under the jurisdiction of CMHC Calgary and CMHC Lethbridge.

The provincial delivery agency for the program was the Alberta Housing Corporation (AHC)--a crown corporation responsible to the Minister of Housing and Public Works. There are two main administrative regions within AHC (see Figure 3): the Northern Region based in Edmonton, and the Southern Region based in Calgary. Each region operates somewhat differently,

FIGURE 3

N.I.P. ADMINISTRATION IN ALBERTA FROM 1973 - April 1, 1978



1. Large Municipalities used their planning departments as direct delivery agents.
2. Small municipalities often hired a coordinator out of NIP funds to administer the program and work with the residents.
3. Resident groups in larger centers were provided with funds to hire a coordinator.
4. The NIP Working Committee was composed of project managers from each AHC region who administered the program, and a representative from the Policy and Program Development Division of the Department of Housing and Public Works.

so that several project managers in the Northern Region, and one project manager in the Southern Region were responsible for the day-to-day administration of NIP within their respective jurisdictions. During the time of the research, the majority of NIP areas were the responsibility of the Southern Region.

Municipalities applied for funding under NIP directly to AHC on standard CMHC forms designed for this purpose. These applications were reviewed by the NIP Working Committee which was composed of the AHC project managers responsible for the program in both regions, and a policy analyst from the Department of Housing and Public Works (Figure 3). This committee was involved primarily during municipality designation, and had little to do with day-to-day program administration.

Once a municipality was designated, it was primarily responsible for the implementation of the program. In larger centres (Figure 3), where a planning department existed, this department administered the program for the municipality. In effect, the planning department became the most direct delivery agent of the program in the larger centres. In these cases, the neighbourhood was usually provided with NIP money in order to hire a citizen or community coordinator. The role of this coordinator varied from city to city and even neighbourhood to neighbourhood to some extent, but centered around the resident involvement aspect of NIP.

In smaller centres, a NIP coordinator was usually hired to administer and deliver the program, and to facilitate

resident involvement; thus fulfilling the functions of both the planning department and the citizen coordinator as discussed above.

This difference between the large and small municipalities in program administration created a difference in the senior governments' profile. In the larger centres the planning department was an extra level of administrative bureaucracy inserted between the province and the neighbourhood, and became the one with whom the neighbourhood had the most direct contact. Although provincial and federal approval was required for each stage of the program, and for the release of committed funds, the senior government role in the large urban centres was little more than a delayed rubber stamp.

In smaller municipalities, however, where a NIP coordinator was responsible for program implementation, the profile of the senior governments was much higher. Because of the vague, flexible nature of the program, NIP coordinators relied heavily on AHC and CMHC personnel for direction and even aid in preparing submissions which would require provincial and federal approval. The impact of the senior levels of government on the program was therefore far greater in these smaller communities than in Edmonton and Calgary.

The foregoing describes the basic skeleton of NIP administration in Alberta during the time period under discussion. It is difficult to discuss administration without discussion of the roles of the various actors in the program. In this

case it is also difficult to discuss roles without some mention of the program's delivery stages.

4.3.2 Program Delivery Stages

When a municipality expressed interest in the program, a representative from AHC, and often CMHC, visited the municipal council in order to explain the program and the necessary application procedures. It was then the responsibility of the municipality to submit an application such requisite information as a map of the area, existing land use, state of the housing stock, degree of physical problems and adequacy of amenities in the area, age and income distribution of the population, plans for resident involvement and local administration of the program, and an indication of how the municipality would provide its share of the funding. These applications, as mentioned earlier, were sent directly to AHC where they were reviewed annually by the NIP Working Committee.

Theoretically, the applications were assessed according to neighbourhood selection criteria as outlined by CMHC in the NIP Operator's Handbook (1975):

> (a) The area is predominantly residential in land use.
> (b) A significant proportion of the housing stock is in need of rehabilitation.
> (c) Other elements of the physical environment are in need of rehabilitation.
> (d) The area is inhabited for the most part by low and moderate income people.
> (e) There are deficiencies in neighbourhood amenities.
> (f) The area is potentially stable in terms of land use and densities.
>
> (p. B-1)

The NIP Evaluation (November 22, 1977) points out, however, that because there was no baseline for determining minimum standards in the physical environment, amenities and general living conditions, it was difficult to assess not only eligibility but need for the program. The funding decisions were therefore based primarily on the state of the housing stock.[3] This was mainly because NIP was being administered by federal and provincial housing organizations, and because in order for a neighbourhood to be eligible for NIP's companion program (RRAP) at least 25% of the housing stock had to require rehabilitiation. It was also assumed that an area in which the average income was below the provincial or municipal average, and in which a significant proportion of the housing stock was deteriorated, would also be deficient in neighbourhood amenities, and have other physical elements in need of rehabilitation. The stability criterion, in terms of land use and density, was regarded as an important guarantee that conservation would be on-going and that money would not be spent in an area slated for redevelopment.

In any case, the decisions of the NIP working committee then went to the AHC Board of Directors for ratification with final approval from the Minister of Housing and Public Works, who is also the chairman of the Board. The designations were then subject to CMHC approval, following which, the federal and provincial governments issued a joint public announcement of annual designations.

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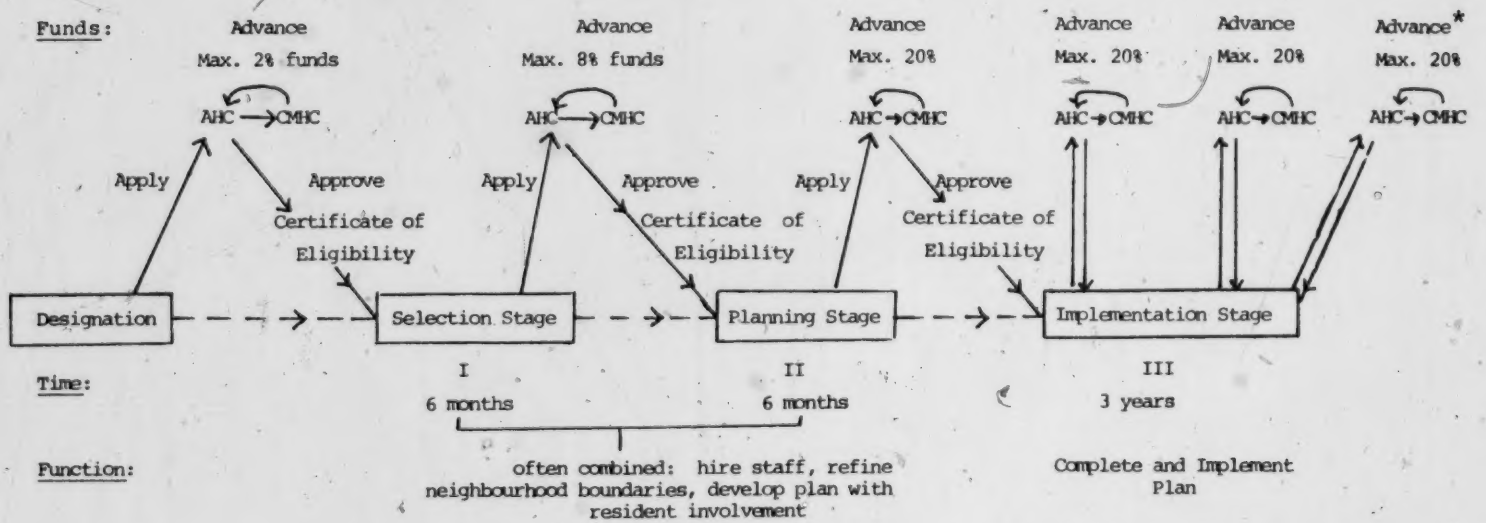
[3]NIP working committee member. Personal communication, 1977-78.

Once a municipality/neighbourhood was designated, the program was delivered in three stages--selection, planning and implementation--which were intended to comprise approximately four years. The intended time line, process, function, and release of senior government funds during these stages is shown in Figure 4. Theoretically, a municipality selected a neighbourhood for the allocated NIP funds according to the eligibility criteria discussed earlier, spent six months planning how the funds were to be spent with resident involvement, and then spent three years implementing this plan. While this time line was considered to be flexible, the municipality required senior government approval for extension of any stage.

The municipality had the majority of program implementation responsibility, and the senior governments were to act in an advisory/resource capacity during the stages of program delivery. As shown in Figure 4, however, the senior governments controlled the program to the extent that passage from one stage to another, and the release of funds depended on their joint approval. At the beginning of each stage of the program, a municipality had to apply for a certificate of eligibility for that stage from the federal government. This application was sent to AHC, and subject to its approval, was forwarded to CMHC. Upon approval, CMHC sent the certificate and an accountable advance, if applicable, back to AHC. AHC then added its share of the requested accountable advance, and sent

FIGURE 4

NIP PROGRAM DELIVERY STAGES



*The final 10% of funds are released on a reimbursement basis rather than in the form of an accountable advance.

the package back to the municipality. This rather cumbersome senior level coordination occurred at the beginning of every stage, and for every accountable advance. Both senior level governments thus had powers of sanction and veto in every application, although this power was rarely, if ever, exercised once the implementation stage was reached.

Since a municipality applied for funding for a specific neighbourhood, the selection "stage" took place, in effect, during the initial application-designation process. The selection stage was subsequently often combined with the planning stage of the program (Figure 4). As a result, there was little or no resident involvement in neighbourhood selection,[4] although residents in Calgary and Edmonton usually lobbied their municipal governments for inclusion in the program. This virtual disappearance of a six-month selection stage, and the fact that the third stage of program delivery was the implementation of the plan developed during the planning stage rendered the latter probably the most critical in program delivery. It was the planning stage which could be considered the essence of NIP in terms of the new spirit of urban revitalization with resident involvement; the resident involvement component was most visible during this stage. The sample for this research was thus drawn from those neighbourhoods which had completed the planning stage and were in the

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[4]The exception was Lethbridge, which applied for NIP for the neighbourhood of Westminster, but used the six month selection stage to determine whether the residents of that area did in fact want the program.

implementation stage.

How the municipality developed the plan during the planning stage was its own responsibility. In Alberta,[5] as generally common in other parts of Canada, on the average, the majority (approximately 65.0%) of NIP funds were budgeted for social/recreational items. These included such facilities as playgrounds, parks, community halls and centers, arena-upgrading, swimming pools, libraries, drop-in centers, museums and day-care. An average of about 15% of the funds were devoted to municipal services, mainly in the area of traffic services such as sidewalks, curbs, traffic signs and signals, street lighting and paving. Land for social housing and funds budgeted in reserve, accounted for an average of about 2.5% each of NIP funds in the province.

The operating costs of NIP accounted for an average of 15% of the budgets. These "soft costs" included the selection and planning stages, administration and planning during implementation, resident participation and relocation.

How the residents were involved in developing this plan was also the responsibility of the municipality; and the participation environment of NIP was created by the administrative and program delivery process discussed above.

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[5] These trends were identified in the NIP Transfer Report (April, 1978) and are based on the implementation budgets of 27 neighbourhoods. The figures have been rounded here to highlight general trends and because the actual figures fluctuate depending on the numbers of neighbourhoods included in analysis.

4.4 Participation Environment

The participation environment of NIP was characterized by cumbersome tri-level governmental involvement, inconsistent policy and limitation on decision-making set by such policy as existed, lack of coordination among and between levels of government, lack of clarity over program objectives, and no guidelines for resident participation. The NIP Evaluation (November 22, 1977) pointed out some of these characteristics as problems related to provincial concerns with program administration and delivery. They may also be viewed as factors or characteristics of the participation environment.

The kind of tri-level governmental coordination and involvement in NIP has been discussed earlier. The municipality held the majority of program implementation responsibility while the province and the federal government possessed powers of sanction and veto nearly every step of the way. In no instance were neighbourhood residents considered as a fourth level of government or considered to have implementation responsibility. Without responsibility, citizen possession of real power or control seems unlikely.

Tri-government involvement should not be singularly viewed in a negative sense in such a program. In the case of NIP, however, this involvement was more cumbersome as a result of inconsistency and lack of clarity in senior government interpretation of the program guidelines. As noted in the NIP

Transfer Report, (April, 1978):

> Much of the problem (policy issues) is due to the independent approach taken in carrying out NIP in the past by both AHC and CMHC. Inconsistent decisions and a reluctance on the part of both AHC and CMHC to accept responsibility for the programme has confused municipalities. (p. 29)

This inconsistency and lack of clarity was compounded by having two AHC and three CMHC offices responsible for the program. This resulted in several different explanations of the program and policy decisions communicated to the municipalities. The reluctance of either AHC or CMHC to accept responsibility exacerbated the confusion.

CMHC wanted to take a back seat role, particularly because of the bad press the federal government received during urban renewal days.[6] AHC, meanwhile, knew that CMHC had the final say in interpreting the program and was naturally reluctant to take a stand on something which could be reversed overnight. The municipality, particularly the smaller ones, bore the brunt of the confusion:

> In particular, the federal-provincial agreement specifies that the province is active in program delivery and fronts all decisions for CMHC. In fact, the Province has tended to opt out of making decisions by saying it is a federal program. In the meantime, the municipality carries on . . . facing the possibility that a reaction to their plans on the part of a senior government may be a veto.
> (NIP Evaluation, November 22, 1977, p.C13)

This confusion and inconsistency becomes particularly problematic with the realization that a neighbourhood plan for

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[6] Program Manager, CMHC Calgary. Interview, August, 1977.

spending NIP funds could contain only those items which CMHC and AHC deemed eligible according to their interpretation of the program guidelines.

The NIP Evaluation (November 22, 1977) also revealed a lack of coordination between NIP and other programs, and among levels of government:

> Field visits revealed a singular lack of communication viz tri-governmental coordination and most particularly horizontally across provincial government departments. Each line department operates in NIP areas under their own mandate with seemingly no recognition of the potential for overlap or coordination, or what the NIP stimulus might be able to achieve.
> (p. C10)

This and the problem of inconsistent, unclear policy were believed to stem from the vague and unspecific objectives of NIP itself. This resulted in a wide variety of interpretations of program objectives at both federal and provincial levels, and this variety was promulgated at the municipal and neighbourhood levels. For example, those involved with NIP in Calgary[7] viewed the main objective of the program, variously as a remedial program, income redistribution, improvement of community spirit and awareness, the salvation of older communities, the replacement of older communities in the mainstream of the market place, and as a catalyst for commercial development.

A planner with the City of Edmonton saw the main objective of NIP as providing a baseline for planning in the City,

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[7] CMHC personnel, Calgary Planning Department, Community Coordinators, and resident committee chairperson in Inglewood/Ramsay, Calgary. Interviews. August, 1977.

and acting as a "sounding board" for citizens relative to "improving the city".[8] A citizen coordinator in Edmonton viewed NIP as a means to upgrade a degenerate area, and encourage stability rather than transience, in a neighbourhood. One coordinator in a smaller municipality perceived the major objective of NIP to be acting as a catalyst for community involvement. The majority of those involved outside of Edmonton and Calgary viewed NIP as a means to improve social and recreational facilities in the community. An official in Grande Prairie thought that the purpose of NIP was to underwrite costs for the removal of blight, and to foster change so that new housing would develop rather than the rehabilitation of existing housing! Fortunately, this last interpretation was an incongruous exception, rather than the rule.

Finally, it was a participation environment in which there were no guidelines for resident participation. While flexibility in this program component might be beneficial, the NIP Evaluation (November 22, 1977) suggested that:

> Each municipality has interpreted this requirement (for resident involvement) differently, often with a view to obtain a level of local involvement that is least disruptive to the current local administration. (p. C15)

It was in this kind of environment that the participation of residents in planning took place; an environment limited by senior and municipal policy concerning what NIP money could

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[8] Planner, City of Edmonton Planning Department. Interview. August, 1977.

be spent on, and in which the only clearly identified goal of resident participation was program implementation without resident resistance. This kind of environment coupled with a multitude of means of administration and staffing at the local level was not drastically different from the participation environments reported for other government programs mandating citizen participation in urban development (Spiegel, 1968; 1969; 1974). Therefore, at this juncture, the participation environment created by NIP does not appear to pose a threat to the generalizability of the results of this research.

Within the context of NIP, then, this research on mandated citizen participation was undertaken. The administration and program delivery processes for the program, described above, were the sources of comparison group identification for theoretical sampling.

4.5 Comparison Groups

The most obvious source of data for the theoretical sampling categories was the citizen leaders and participants in NIP neighbourhoods. The identification of this group for comparison raised the possibility of the non-participant in a recipient neighbourhood as a source of data. An arbitrary research decision was made to exclude this group. One reason for this decision was the assumption that non-participants would be somewhat less knowledgeable than participants about the participation process which had taken place for NIP in

their neighbourhood. This decision was also based on the assumption that the quantitative dimension (numbers involved) of citizen participation would be less meaningful, in terms of success criteria, than the qualitative dimensions.

The other groups identified were the NIP coordinators, citizen or community coordinators, planners and elected municipal representatives. Additional sources of information were AHC and CMHC personnel responsible for the program, as well as the NIP working committee member from the Department of Housing and Public Works. These groups were believed to have the most direct contact with neighbourhood residents as identified at this stage of the research. The file search was conducted, in part, to verify these groups as data sources; the results of this search are reported in the following chapter.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has been a description of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program as it operated in Alberta from 1973 until April 1, 1978. The program and its administrative and delivery processes were described in order to provide the reader with some contextual sensitivity for the research. The characteristics of the participation environment created by NIP were discussed; and these characteristics did not seem to threaten the generalizability of the findings in this study. In addition, comparison groups were identified as sources of data for theoretical sampling.

The problems with program delivery identified during a provincial evaluation, some of which were characteristics of the participation environment, were discussed in detail in the NIP Evaluation (November 22, 1977). It should be noted that this report was not widely circulated, was not forwarded to the Minister, and was not favourably received internally by either AHC or the Department of Housing and Public Works. No action was taken on any of the recommendations, and AHC continued to administer the program without significant changes until April 1, 1978. By then, as NIP enabling legislation was not extended, nearly all of the neighbourhoods were well into the planning and implementation stages. The NIP Transfer Report (April, 1978) reported the solidification and validation of program trends identified during the evaluation.

On April 1, 1978, the provincial administration of NIP was transferred to the Grants Assistance Division of the Department of Housing and Public Works. While some of the program delivery and administrative problems may have been resolved as a result of this transfer, the program was in such an advanced state that it is unlikely that the character of the program in Alberta was significantly changed. Program evolution, therefore, should not pose a threat to the validity of these research findings.

Chapter 5

Data Collection and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to report the collection and analysis of data as part of the research process outlined in chapter 2. This involved a file search undertaken at the provincial level, and interviews conducted in the field with comparison groups until a level of theoretical saturation was reached in the theoretical sampling categories. The comparison groups and sampling categories were identified as discussed in the previous two chapters.

In order to consolidate and review for the reader's benefit at this point, Table 3 contains a list of these groups. Ten theoretical sampling categories were identified through a review of literature, and five comparison groups identified through participant observation in NIP at the provincial level.

5.2 File Search

The purpose of the file search was threefold. Firstly, the file search was undertaken in order to familiarize the researcher further with NIP--particularly, the resident participation component of the program,--and with the kind of information which might be available from this source. Secondly, it was

Table 3

Identified Theoretical Sampling Categories and Comparison Groups*

Theoretical Sampling Categories:

1. Reason for citizen participation
2. Definition of Citizens
3. Size and Structure of Participation Unit
4. Representativeness
5. Accountability
6. Function and Role of Participation Unit
7. Decision-making methodology
8. Determination of Public Interest
9. Information
10. Interrelationship and Coordination

Comparison Groups:

1. Citizen Participants
2. NIP/Community Coordinators
3. Municipal Representatives
4. AHC and CMHC Personnel
5. Planners

*Derived from the literature and participant-observation in the Neighbourhood Improvement Program

intended that the file search would serve to validate the identified sampling categories and comparison groups, and/or reveal possible additional categories and groups. Finally, it was hoped that the files would yield some data in some of the categories.

The provincial files were in two locations at the time of the research: the Northern and Southern Regional offices of AHC in Edmonton and Calgary. Each office had only those files on projects which were under their jurisdiction. With the differing administrative procedures between the two offices, the files were not kept uniformally or consistently. Even within one office, the information on file was not consistently reported among NIP neighbourhoods. The information about citizen participation was particularly inconsistent and not extensive. This was not unexpected in light of the provincial non-role in this component. Copies of municipal application forms, minutes of meetings and correspondence comprised most of what information existed.

As discussed earlier, there were 28 NIP neighbourhoods in Alberta, at the time of the file search, which were located in 19 municipalities and 2 Improvement Districts; and concentrated in Edmonton, Calgary, the Drumheller Region, and the Crowsnest Pass.

The application forms on file revealed some of the characteristics of NIP neighbourhoods in the province. According to what was reported, the neighbourhoods were characterized

by a declining or stable population, a maturing age structure causing a high dependency ratio, an income level below the municipal or provincial average, a relatively high owner-occupancy ratio[1] (generally above 58% which was the 1971 provincial average) deteriorating housing stock, inadequate social and recreational facilities, and inadequate municipal infrastructure. The NIP Status Report (August, 1977) reports that the average income in Alberta NIP neighbourhoods was lower than that of the Canadian NIP average, ($7451 compared to $8148) but this information was not consistently reported and often based on 1971 census data.

There was also little difference between "inner-city" neighbourhoods and small municipalities according to the above characteristics except in population (NIP Status Report). The average population of municipalities as NIP neighbourhoods was 1000 which was one-quarter that of inner city neighbourhoods. Both types of neighbourhoods thus exhibited the characteristics which made them eligible for the program.

In terms of the citizen participation component, information was on file for many of the neighbourhoods in four of the theoretical sampling categories: definition of the citizens, structure of the participation unit, determination of the public interest, and information. Table 4 is a summary of some of the characteristics of the approach to resident participation in NIP in Alberta. Because of the nature of the

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[1] NIP Status Report (August, 1977), p. 27.

Table 4

Summary of Some of the Characteristics of the Approach to Resident Involvement in NIP in Alberta

Sampling Category	Subcategory	Variable	Neighbourhoods Using Variable n[1]=28	%	Notes
Structure of Participation Unit	Municipality Approach to Creation of Resident Participation Structure	Used Existing Structure	6	21	All structures were incorporated under The Societies Act, 1970
		Created New Structure	13	46	
		Combination of Above	5	18	
	Selection of Participants	Elected	10	36	Includes appt. by both Town Council and NIP Coordinator
		Appointed	4	14	
		Combination of Above	8	29	
	Staff for Resident Participation	Employee of Municipality	21[3]	75	(2) All inner city neighbourhoods
		Employee of Citizens' Group	6[2]	21	(3) All small municipalities some consultation
Determination of Public Interest	Major Form of Need Identification	Questionnaire	18[4]	64	(4) Reported response rate ranged from 5.7-75% with an average of 39%. Response rate was reported in 10 neighbourhoods.
		Public Meeting	3	11	
		Workshop	2	7	
		Other	3[5]	11	(5) Includes one community study, personal interviews, town council
Definition of Citizens	Composition of Resident Structure	Neighbourhood Residents	17	61	(6) Outside members in all cases were appointed by Town Council
		Outside Residents	3[6]	11	
Information	Publicity about Planning and Participation Process	Flyers, Leaflets	6	21	
		Newsletter	8	29	
		TV/Radio	1	4	
		Newspaper Column	6	21	

[1] Information was not always reported for all neighbourhoods. Each category may not total 28.

data, and the inconsistency in reporting, this information should be considered primarily for the purposes of familiarization with the resident participation process and approach in the province.

The nature of the program and its legislation, defined the citizens as those who resided in the designated NIP neighbourhood. They were the program recipients. As shown in Table 4, this definition was consistent in Alberta with three exceptions. In these instances, the resident structure contained appointed members who did not reside within the designated neighbourhood boundaries. These three cases were all located in medium-sized municipalities where the NIP neighbourhood was a significant subset of the municipality, and the town council appointed at least one outside member to sit on the NIP committee. Where the entire municipality was designated as a neighbourhood under NIP, all resident structures were automatically composed only of neighbourhood residents; none of the inner city neighbourhoods in Edmonton and Calgary had outside members on their committees.

The most common approach to initiating resident participation in NIP was the creation of a new structure for that purpose (Table 4). Almost half of the NIP neighbourhoods (46%) reported the creation of a new structure while the rest were split between the use of an existing structure (21%) and a combination of both these alternatives (18%) such as the expansion or redefinition of an existing structure. Inner city

neighbourhoods most often relied on the latter options, while the majority of those neighbourhoods which created a new structure were small municipalities. All of the resident structures were incorporated under The Societies Act, 1970.

There appeared to be no universal mode of selecting participants for involvement. NIP committees were selected through election at public meetings held for that purpose, appointment by either Town Council, NIP coordinators or self (volunteer), or some combination of election and appointment. Only in some of the small municipalities was the Town Council or NIP coordinator actively involved in the selection of participants through appointment.

In all of the inner city neighbourhoods in Edmonton and Calgary (except for Victoria Park - Calgary), the resident group was provided with NIP funds to hire a citizen or community coordinator. In the small municipalities where a NIP coordinator was hired to administer the program, she/he was also responsible for resident participation. This difference shows up in Table 4 where it subsequently appears that the minority of resident groups had their own staff. In several small municipalities, however, the NIP coordinator was hired by the Town Council in consultation with the resident group.

The majority (64%) of neighbourhoods used a questionnaire or survey to determine needs in the community. The reported response rate (Table 4) ranged from 6-75% and averaged 39%. The questionnaires on file seemed to be mainly "laundry lists"

or riddled with leading, double-barrelled, and biased questions. Questions such as "Are you in favour of improvements and alterations in the curling rink?" or "Would you like to see a public library made available to you and your family? (keeping in mind that previous library facilities were poorly used)" appeared to be rather standard fare. The reliability and validity of this method of need identification seems questionable. These questionnaires, however, were often reported to be supplemented with public meetings in many municipalities.

Again, there was also some difference between the small municipalities and Edmonton and Calgary neighbourhoods. One would expect need determination techniques to be somewhat more sophisticated with the involvement of the Planning Departments. Edmonton used a series of workshops in neighbourhoods for example, and one neighbourhood in Calgary commissioned a community study. Sophistication, however, does not automatically imply accuracy.

Data for the broad sampling category of information--accuracy, availability and completeness for assessing problems and alternative solutions--could not really be gathered from files. There was, however, some information about the modes of publicity utilized for informing residents about the participation and planning process occurring in the neighbourhoods. As shown in Table 4, the most common means were flyers, leaflets, newsletters and newspaper columns. Little use appeared

to have been made of the electronic media reflecting perhaps the "non-localness" of such media. Few small municipalities have their own radio and television stations, and community programs on cable television did not seem to have been used to any extent in the inner city neighbourhoods.

The findings presented in Table 4 and discussed above, when observed in the context of the obtainable data, formed the skeleton of the resident participation process in NIP in Alberta. Although the results presented in Table 4 clearly reveal the variety in the participation component among neighbourhoods, there also seemed to be some rather striking similarities. It appeared that the small municipalities followed a similar format or procedure for resident invovement, as did neighbourhoods in Calgary and neighbourhoods in Edmonton. The three formats differed somewhat from each other and are shown in Figures 5 through 7. These formats and differences were substantiated by presentations at a NIP workshop held in Edmonton in June, 1977, and by discussions with Edmonton and Calgary planners and NIP coordinators.

The differences in format for resident participation in NIP were therefore not municipality dependent despite the municipal responsibility for this program component. The differences were also not municipal-size dependent as Edmonton and Calgary have similar populations. The differences, appeared, instead, to be immediate delivery agent dependent.

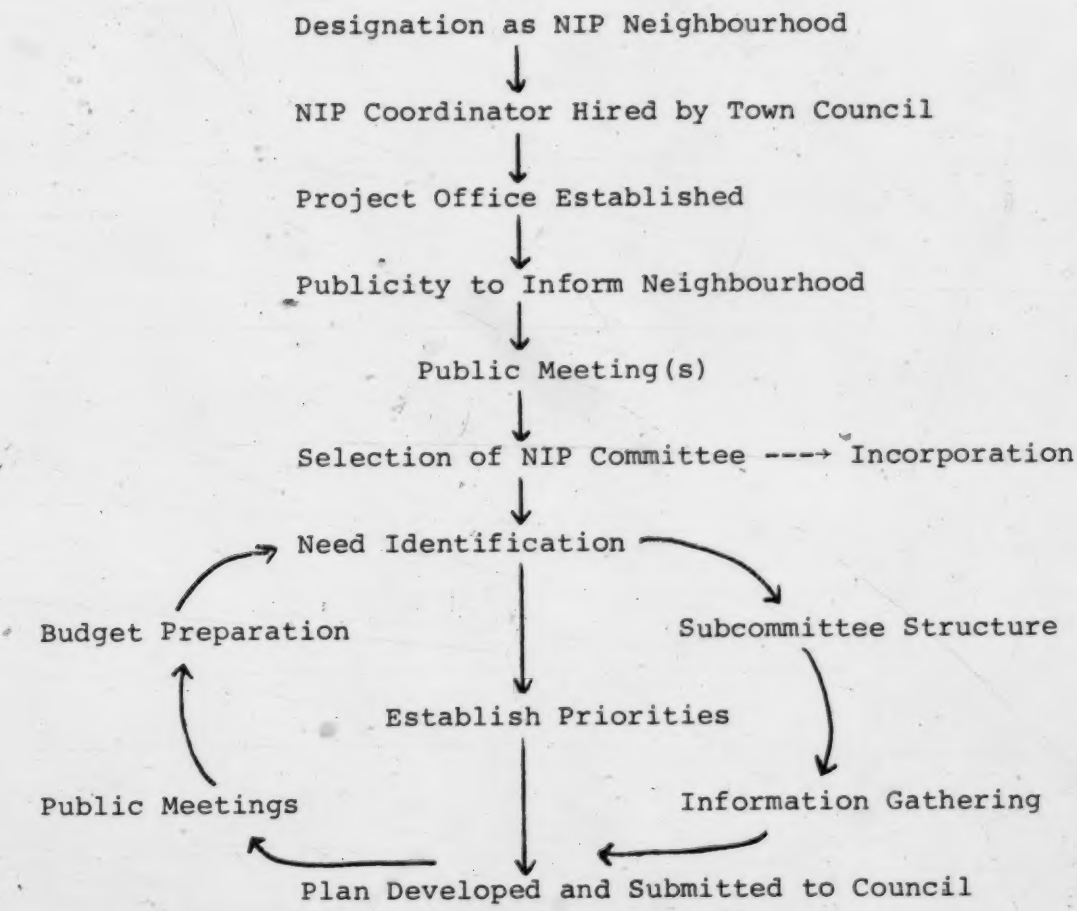

Figure 5. Small Municipalities: General Procedure for Resident Participation in NIP in Alberta

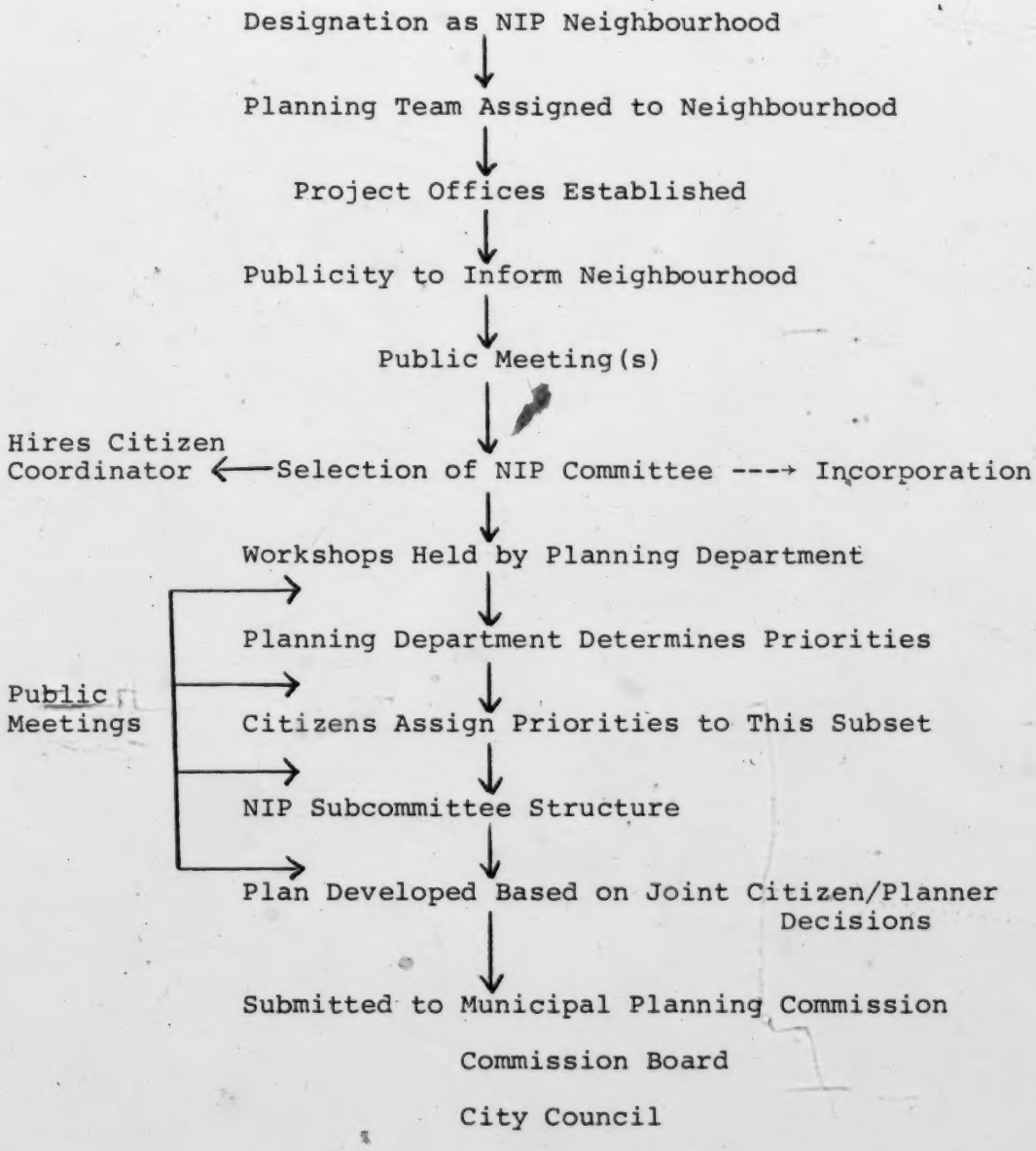

Figure 6. Edmonton: General Procedure for Resident Participation in NIP

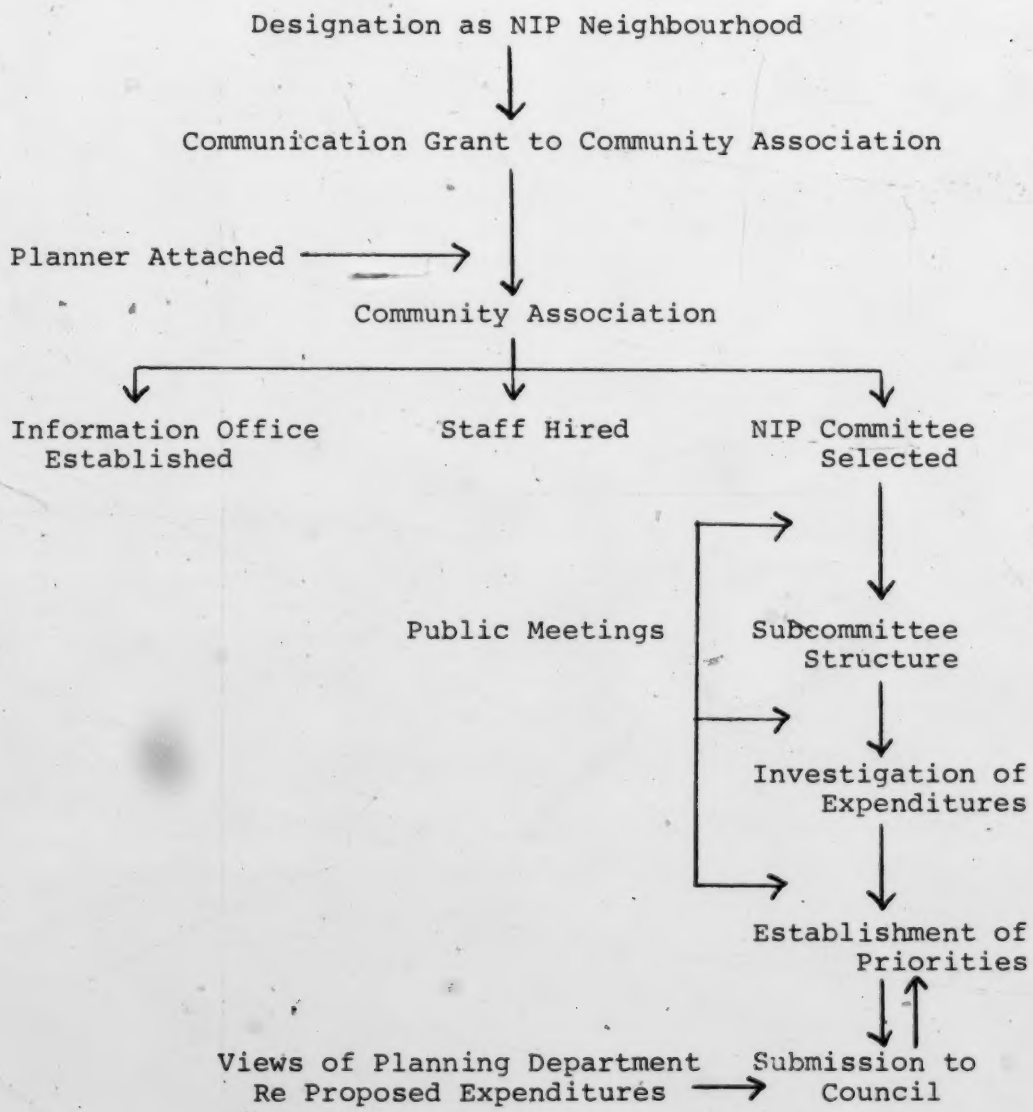

Figure 7. Calgary: General Procedure for Resident Participation in NIP

The immediate delivery agent outside of Edmonton and Calgary was AHC. The project manager in the Southern region determined the prototype for participation which was followed generally in all the municipalities under his jurisdiction, and in some of the municipalities in the Northern Region as well.[2] In Edmonton and Calgary, the format and general procedure was planning department determined.[3] This delivery agency dependence lends validity to the research assumptions that the data collected would not be municipality, neighbourhood or population size specific. The existence of a variety of delivery agents would guard against the data collected as being delivery agent specific, and thus a threat to the generalizability of the research results. This also further substantiates the importance of delivery agent staff (AHC project managers, planners) as comparison group sources of data for the theoretical sampling categories. No groups or categories in addition to those already identified were discovered in the file search.

The file search thus familiarized the researcher with the resident participation component of NIP; lent validity to some of the research assumptions concerning generalizability; provided a characterization of NIP neighbourhoods; and yielded some data for some of the theoretical sampling categories. The

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[2]Project Managers, AHC Southern and Northern Region, and NIP coordinators. Personal communication. June 1977.

[3]Planners, Edmonton and Calgary. Personal communication. June 1977.

failure to identify any additional categories or groups established an interim level of validity for those identified earlier, in what may be termed a negative sense. In other words, in the absence of new comparison groups and sampling categories, and in the absence of data which mitigated the use of those identified, the research could proceed on the assumption that, until proven otherwise, the categories and groups were valid. These results provided a solid basis for the field interviews as the next "step" in the research process.

5.3 Field Interviews

5.3.1 Interview Schedule

An interview schedule was developed in order to collect data for the ten theoretical sampling categories (see Appendix A). Several of the questions were derived as a result of the NIP workshop in June 1977 which was attended by NIP coordinators, citizen and community coordinators, and municipal representatives from across the province. During this workshop, for example, there was considerable discussion concerning the impact of the participation experience on the community. As this impact was extremely relevant to success criteria, a question on impact was included (question #3 - Appendix A). A direct question related to success was also included (question #2 - Appendix A) in order to investigate what the comparison groups perceived as successful participation. These additions

created twelve categories for sampling instead of ten.

Several of the questions were also based on the instrument used by Gilbert and Specht (1973) in their evaluation of the Model Cities Program. These questions (#5,7,16-24) also contained the structured response employed by Gilbert and Specht. As discussed earlier, these researchers were concerned with citizen participation qua successful program implementation and had only senior administrators as respondents. These questions were used, therefore, because they reflected the sampling categories and not in order to verify Gilbert and Specht's results.

Table 5 is a summary of the content of the interview schedule relative to the theoretical sampling categories. This content may be considered as sub-categories of the broader categories, and as such are judgmental on the part of the researcher. It should be noted that the content of the interview schedule was not intended to measure the theoretical sampling categories, but rather as a guide for more open-ended discussion with respondents. Therefore, the question of content and construct validity in terms of measurement was less appropriate than the systematic understanding (Bisanz, 1977) on the part of the researcher that the data being collected, was in fact, relevant to the categories.

Table 5

Summary of Interview Schedule Content Relative to Theoretical Sampling Categories

Sampling Category	Content or Subcategories
1. Why should people participate	reason for participation component in NIP
2. Definition of citizens	direct question plus stage of direct involvement, composition of structure
3. Size and Structure	kinds of structure; size and composition; incorporation
4. Representativeness	direct question; selection of participants
5. Accountability	relative to council and community at large; public meetings
6. Function and Role of Unit	involvement, conflict, acceptance relative to council and Administration; role of professional staff, coordinators, residents in planning decisions
7. Decision-Making Methodology	within resident group; level and resolution of conflict within group
8. Determination of Public Interest	identification of needs, problems and solution alternatives; establishment of priorities
9. Information	availability, accuracy, completeness for planning; publicity

Table 5 (Continued)

Sampling Category	Content or Subcategories
10. Interrelationship and Coordination	relative to AHC, CMHC, council, local administration, other voluntary organizations
11. Success	direct question
12. Impact	direct question

5.3.2 Sample

Of the 28 NIP neighbourhoods in Alberta, 13 had completed the planning stage. A cross-sectional, judgmental sample of 8 of these neighbourhoods was chosen for field interviews. An additional neighbourhood in Calgary was included in the sample although it had not completed the planning stage because it was the only "true" inner-city neighbourhood designated under the program.

The sample thus included inner-city neighbourhoods in Edmonton and Calgary, a small municipality, an Improvement District and a group of villages who shared a total allocation and one NIP coordinator. This represented all the kinds of designated NIP neighbourhoods in the province. The neighbourhoods comprising the sample were: Inglewood/Ramsay and Victoria Park in Calgary; Calder and Norwood in Edmonton, Drumheller, ID #7, and Carbon, Hussar and Standard.

Inglewood/Ramsay is really two geographic neighbourhoods under one designation, and was one of the first NIP areas in Canada. Designated in 1974, it was chosen as providing information over the whole program evolution period. Victoria Park (designated in 1976) was, as mentioned above, the only "true" inner-city neighbourhood. It is located adjacent to Calgary's downtown core, and has a high percentage of absentee landlords and transience in comparison to other NIP neighbourhoods (file information and NIP Status Report, August, 1977). Norwood

(1975), in Edmonton, has a wide mix of ethnic origins, a relatively transient population, a significant native population, and is one of the neighbourhoods which attracts recent immigrant settlement (file information). Calder (1976) has a relatively stable population, very strongly defined geographic boundaries, and a history of vocal, reactive community organization (file information). Together, these four urban neighbourhoods embodied most of the diversities found in Edmonton and Calgary NIP neighbourhoods.

Drumheller (1975) was one of the earliest small municipality designations. It was expected that the NIP experience there with the pressures of "small town" politics of personality (Lowry, 1973) and the closer contact of the residents with Council would be characteristic of this type.

ID# 7 (1975) composed of four hamlets (Wayne, East Coulee, Nacmine, and Rosedale/Cambria) is located near Drumheller in the depressed coal-mining area of the province. As an Improvement District, there is no local government and the municipal administration and financial share in NIP was the responsibility of the provincial Department of Municipal Affairs.

Carbon, Hussar and Standard are each villages with a population of approximately 150. As part of Regional Resources Project #1, they are trying to attract industry and people to the area in an attempt to reverse the trend of depression and attrition. Although they shared the same total NIP allocation and the same NIP coordinator, each village received one-third

of the allocation, planned its own NIP program, and was responsible for raising the municipal financial share.

The sample chosen reflected the diversity in neighbourhood type and it was expected that the data collected would thus reflect mandated citizen participation and not be specific to neighbourhood characteristics. It was also chosen to control for, and to account for, delivery agency impact. The three immediate delivery agents: Edmonton Planning Department, Calgary Planning Department and AHC Southern Region were represented in the sample. The AHC Southern Region was selected because more neighbourhoods were under its jurisdiction at that time then the Northern Region, and these neighbourhoods established the prototype which Northern Region neighbourhoods attempted to follow.

The CMHC office in Calgary was included as representative of that particular comparison group because all of the small municipalities in the sample were under its jurisdiction. This office also had a somewhat lower profile than CMHC Lethbridge and a somewhat higher profile than CMHC Edmonton.

5.3.3 Results

A total of 23 interviews were conducted in the sample neighbourhoods including CMHC Calgary. The AHC staff in Edmonton and Calgary were not formally interviewed, but the researcher had intensive discussion with them over the course of year-long involvement with the program.

Table 6 shows the distribution of interviews per neighbourhood. There were 6 citizen participants or citizen leaders, 6 NIP or community coordinators, 5 planners, 4 municipal representatives, and 2 CMHC personnel. Ideally, all of the comparison groups in each neighbourhood should be represented. As shown in Table 6, however, there were some gaps. None of the citizen participants in Drumheller, Victoria Park, Calder or Norwood were available at the time of the research. In Drumheller, Calder and Norwood, those participants contacted suggested that the NIP or community coordinators "knew the whole story" and would be trusted, accurate respondents. Victoria Park was factionalized and in the throes of making presentations to City Hall over re-zoning bylaws and those contacted were unavailable or refused to be interviewed. The researcher attended the city council meeting instead.

The NIP coordinator for ID #7 was working in another province and could not be reached; there was no community coordinator in Victoria Park. No municipal representatives exist in ID #7, although the researcher was in contact with the Municipal Affairs staff responsible for NIP. No municipal representatives were interviewed in Edmonton and Calgary because they were not directly involved with the program and were removed from the participation process.

These gaps do not threaten the validity of the research, however, as it was not directed at presenting a neighbourhood

Table 6

Comparison Group Interviews: Distribution by Sample NIP Neighbourhood in Alberta

	Comparison Groups					
Neighbourhood n = 9	Citizen Participant	NIP or Community Coordinator	Planner	Elected Municipal Representative	CMHC Calgary	
Carbon	1			1		
Hussar	1	1[b]	1[d]	1		
Standard	1			1		
ID #7	1	-[a]		-[e]	2	
Drumheller	-[a]	1		1		
Inglewood/Ramsay	2	2	2	-[f]		
Victoria Park	-[a]	-[c]	1	-[f]		
Calder	-[a]	1		-[f]		
Norwood	-[a]	1	1	-[f]		
Total	6	6	5	4	2	23

(a) unavailable for interview. (b) Carbon, Hussar and Standard share one NIP coordinator.
(c) Victoria Park did not have a community coordinator. (d) Regional Resources Project Coordinator
(e) Non-existent. (f) Not directly involved with the program.

picture, but at collecting data from across comparison groups. All of the comparison groups are represented, and those most involved with the participation component (citizen participants and NIP or community coordinators) are the most strongly represented. The numbers are not larger because it was felt that a level of theoretical saturation had been reached upon completion of these 23 interviews.

The distribution of responses (interview content) in the theoretical sampling categories is shown by comparison group in Table 7. The theoretical sampling categories are not mutually exclusive, and the separate categorization of data was rather arbitrarily judgmental on the part of the researcher. Table 7, however, is presented to demonstrate, in a quasi-quantitative form, the range of data collected.

The interview schedule was employed primarily as a guide for open-ended discussion, and all questions were not appropriate across all the comparison groups. For example, those farthest removed from the actual participation process (CMHC staff, Municipal representatives, planners) could not be expected to know details about such categories as decision-making methodology within the participation unit--unless they were part of that unit. Therefore, the distribution of responses does not reflect the number of respondents.

Several details are noteworthy in Table 7. The responses are distributed across all of the comparison groups. This lends validity to their inclusion in the research as

Table 7

Distribution of Interview Content: Theoretical Sampling Categories by Comparison Groups

Theoretical Sampling Categories n = 12	Citizen Participants n = 6	NIP/Community Coordinators n = 6	Planners n = 5	Municipal Representatives n = 4	CMHC Calgary n = 2	Total
1	3	6	4	1	0	14
2	6	6	5	4	2	23
3	6	6	4	3	1	20
4	5	6	3	2	0	16
5	6	6	1	2	0	15
6	3	6	3	1	0	13
7	6	6	3	3	0	18
8	4	6	2	1	0	13
9	4	6	3	2	0	15
10	6	6	4	3	0	19
11	4	2	1	1	1	9
12	6	6	5	2	1	20

Key for Theoretical Sampling Categories:

1. Why should people participate.
2. Definition of the citizens.
3. Size and structure of participation unit.
4. Representativeness.
5. Accountability.
6. Function and Role of Unit.
7. Decision-making methodology.
8. Determination of the public interest.
9. Information.
10. Interrelationship and coordination.
11. Success.
12. Impact.

perspective sources of data. Secondly, the response distribution in the number of categories is most heavily weighted to those most directly involved with the participation process--the participants and the NIP/community coordinators. This substantiates the validity of grounding the findings in the phenomenon under study. Finally, the total distribution of responses is relatively even for all twelve sampling categories except for that labelled "success". This will be discussed later. At this point, it suggests that even those directly involved with the phenomenon of mandated citizen participation were unable to articulate success criteria or to evaluate the phenomenon in terms of success. This further substantiates the purposes of this research.

One further item should be noted about the results of the interviews. As discussed in an earlier section, the structured responses employed by Gilbert and Specht (1973) were used in the questions derived from their instrument. For example, question 21 "what has been the role of the professional staff (planners) in the planning decisions?" (Appendix A) had a structured response of manager, broker, director, secretariat. Respondents were to rate each of these roles from 0-4. During the interviews, it was found that these structured responses were inappropriate and not clearly understood by respondents--particularly the citizen participants and NIP/community coordinators who were closest to the participation process. There was also no evidence that the rating

scale could be considered to be an interval scale and as such, was relatively meaningless. Therefore, these structured responses were used during the interviews as guides for probing rather than recording information. This was considered to be a valid research judgment in view of the purpose of the interviews which was to elicit information about the broad sampling categories, and not to attempt to measure them.

The results of the interviews could be discussed in a variety of ways--by sampling category, by question or subcategory, by comparison group, or by neighbourhood. Since the purpose of this part of the research process was to collect perspective data for the theoretical sampling categories, the results will be reported by sampling category.

Why Should People Participate

This sampling category reflects what Hart (1972) suggested as the most crucial question related to citizen participation. He also suggested that the justification used by advocates of citizen participation was rather unconvincing and somewhat platitudinous. In other words, people should participate because they have the right - a part of the democratic credo. As such, Hart felt that further justification was necessary.

Whether or not the reason is platitudinous, there was agreement among the participants, the NIP/community coordinators,

and some planners that it was the reason. They suggested that the community has the right to make decisions in programs which affect it; and that the residents may view the community differently from outsiders. One respondent suggested that outsiders have no more right or ability (than residents) to decide what is done in a community; the people know what it (the community) needs. In the words of one participant, "it's (NIP) a people program and councils are not supposed to be involved".

Other planners and the two other comparison groups (municipal representatives and CMHC) reported other reasons. The CMHC respondents reasoned that there should be citizen participation because of the urban renewal "mess" which occurred when citizens were not consulted. This reflects perhaps both a realization that it is no longer possible to govern the masses without participation and the failings of modern, representative democracy as discussed in Chapter 3.

The municipal representatives and some planners cited better program implementation as the main reason. Acceptance and interest in the program was better with involvement; there was greater commitment on the part of residents when they were involved. One planner felt that participation in planning legitimized the activity in the eyes of the citizens. In his view, it was a "loss leader" for legitimate planning. In other words, participation was of benefit for the planning profession. This concurs with the opinions of the U.N.

(1971, 1975) related to the benefits of participation for government and administration.

It is interesting that the comparison groups most directly involved with the participation process viewed the phenomenon in terms of democratic philosophy, while those farther removed and part of the elected representative system or its administration viewed citizen participation in terms of program implementation or policy legitimation. Since most evaluations are commissioned by these latter comparison groups, it is no wonder that citizen participation is often mixed up with program implementation. It is also clear that at the federal level of program creation, the goal of the citizen participation component was program implementation, and a means to reduce conflict in that process.

Despite the variety of reasons for mandated citizen participation expressed by the comparison groups, no group suggested that citizens should not participate. Therefore, it seems that as a phenomenon, Arnstein (in Cahn & Passett, 1971) is quite accurate when she says that:

> The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. (p. 71)

Just why it is "good for you" differed among the comparison groups in this study. This result reveals one of the possible reasons for the non-existence of consensual success criteria for the phenomenon, and provides some background for the results in the rest of the sampling categories.

Definition of the Citizens

The interviews supported the definition of the citizens reported from the file search. The citizens were indeed defined as the program recipients--those who resided in the designated NIP neighbourhood. This was a legislated definition of the citizens (National Housing Act, amendment section 27, 1973). The context of participation was also legislated as participation in planning, and as one citizen participant said "planning affects everyone in the community".

Size and Structure of Participation Unit

Despite some differences in the approach to the establishment of a structure reported in the file search (e.g. new structure, existing structure, combination), the universal mode in NIP was an incorporated committee with an executive and subcommittee structure. The subcommittees were task oriented and struck for need identification, research on alternative solutions, and "watchdog" over implementation.

The actual structure did vary by neighbourhood and/or municipality. In Calgary, existing community associations served as the vehicle for structure creation. The NIP committee was selected from the larger association, and operated as a subcommittee of that organization. In Inglewood/Ramsay each community association elected a committee, and these two committees operated jointly as the NIP committee. In Victoria Park, the NIP committee members were recommended by the Community

Association and appointed by the planner attached to that neighbourhood.

In Norwood (Edmonton), the Norwood Neighbourhood Association elected a board of 5 who formed the NIP committee, and each board member chaired a subcommittee in which members were drawn from the Association. In Calder (Edmonton), 15 Board members elected from the Calder Action Committee formed the NIP committee.

The NIP committee in Drumheller was formed through questionnaire response in which people volunteered to sit on the NIP committee; and in Carbon, Hussar and Standard, the committees were formed by representatives of other voluntary organizations and citizens at large who volunteered at public meetings. In these three neighbourhoods, the NIP coordinator chaired the committees which was unique in the province. In ID #7, each of the four hamlets elected 3 people to make up the NIP committee for the district.

The NIP committees were incorporated or part of an incorporated body for reasons of liability insurance, so that they could process funds, and so that they would not have their planning responsibility in NIP challenged by other groups in the community.

The size of the above NIP committees ranged from 5 to 24 participants with an average number of 14. Most of the NIP committees in the sample were composed of 14-16 participants. The rather long process of planning and implementation in NIP

was reported to create a moderate committee membership attrition rate, and committees seemed to be continually in a minor state of flux as people dropped out and were replaced. The numbers, however, supports Washnis' (1974) argument that not more than 20 members might be the most effective size as these cases were all self-evolved and self-determined sizes. No guidelines had been given.

The variety in structure and selection of participants reported above substantiates the generalizability of the final research results. The collection of data thus spanned several kinds of participation units, and as reported below, several degrees of representativeness and accountability.

Representativeness

Whether or not the NIP committee was perceived to be representative of the community at large differed to some extent by neighbourhood and by comparison group. For example, the participants often reported that the NIP committee was representative of the community. One participant remarked that "the key people" were committee members, and there was a wide range of age mix with both male and female participants. The participants in Inglewood/Ramsay felt that because the committee was elected from the community associations, it was representative. A Calgary planner was quick to point out that the community associations themselves were not representative of the community. A community coordinator in Edmonton corroborated

this view when she reported that the NIP committee in her area was originally elected from an association comprised of membership primarily with one religious affiliation. The rival group in the community was from another religious affiliation. The committee had since become more representative. She also reported that the "working poor" were reluctant to participate and therefore not represented on the committee.

The community coordinator in Norwood felt that the NIP committee was ethnically representative of the neighbourhood, although it was composed mainly of men. An Edmonton planner suggested that, in fact, some ethnic groups were generally excluded in all the Edmonton neighbourhoods and did not participate in NIP planning.

A particular method of participant selection and structure did not seem to guarantee representativeness. One might expect that elected participants might be more representative than volunteer participants, but as noted above, this was clearly not the case. A prime example of this was ID #7 where all participants were elected. A participant there remarked that the NIP committee was mostly men due to the "male chauvinism of a small mining town", and therefore, in the respondent's opinion, not representative.

Those who were involved with committees composed of volunteers reported satisfaction with representativeness. One NIP coordinator, however, suggested that those committees lie

in danger of representing pressure groups rather than the community at large; and that this had been the case in her neighbourhood in the beginning. A planner called this the "pet project syndrome".

This general lack of representativeness on the part of NIP committees reflects not necessarily incompetence or lack of awareness on the part of those facilitating participation in NIP, but probably the reality of differential participation discussed in Chapter 3. This relates to what Foskett (in Sussman, 1959) called functional relevancy. In other words, issues or problems not perceived as relevant to ones circumstances do not elicit the reponse of participation. It is a classic community development dilemma in which one must decide whether to make an issue functionally relevant to a larger cross-section of people, or whether to respect the response of the people and work with those who do participate. In any event, participation in NIP seems to support the case of differential participation; active participation was concentrated in a minority of the neighbourhood population. That minority was not necessarily a representative one. These results make the issue of accountability a very cogent one.

Accountability

The most common means of accountability was the use of public meetings. They were usually called on an ad hoc basis for the purposes of endorsement, feedback, and information

exchange. The public meetings in all neighbourhoods in the sample were open. It was reported by all the comparison groups that attendance at the meetings was generally low and was issue-dependent. Those issues which generated conflict in the neighbourood, such as the location of social housing tended to elicit large attendance. In the words of one community coordinator, however, "it doesn't help to say no". The only recourse dissenters had, it appeared, was to petition city council. Planners reported that the appeals were not often upheld.

No other mechanism for accountability was reported to exist for participation in NIP. Participants and NIP/community coordinators felt that non-attendance at public meetings or lack of community-initiated contact with the NIP committee was approval of NIP committee decisions by default. This is strongly related to the decision-making methodology in the planning process.

Decision-Making Methodology

It was reported that within the NIP committees decisions were generally based on consensus unless there was conflict. The level of conflict within committees was reported as low. Once the NIP committee had reached its decisions, the decision-making methodology varied by neighbourhood.

In Edmonton neighbourhoods, Carbon, Hussar, Standard, and Drumheller, these decisions were reported at public meetings.

In Inglewood/Ramsay, all decisions had to be ratified at meetings of the respective community associations. In ID #7 the committee was not a decision-making body, but rather an information gathering body. Decisions were made at public meetings where the information was presented. ID #7 is a particularly interesting "neighbourhood" in the sample because the NIP planning process created some level of local government in which direct participation was possible.

In any case, it was not the acceptance of the committee's decisions by the community which was felt to be most critical, but rather the acceptance of their decisions by the administration and council. Herein lay most of the reported conflict in NIP; and there was a difference among comparison groups in this area.

It is interesting that the planners saw more conflict among the neighbourhood residents than did the residents. Participants and NIP/community coordinators tended to brush off questions of internal conflict with statements such as "we worked it out", and to concentrate on conflict with Council and Administration.

Edmonton neighbourhoods felt there was conflict between the residents and planning department, while respondents in Calgary perceived council as the body requiring convincing. Drumheller reported problems with council, and in ID #7 there was a feeling that the Improvement District Advisory Council did not recognize the citizen leaders. Carbon, Hussar and

Standard had no reported problems with councils but had problems with AHC and CMHC over what was eligible under the program. These conflicts reflect the variety among comparison groups' perception of the function and role of a participant group.

Function and Role of Participation Unit

The function--for what decisions does participation occur--of the NIP committees, according to AHC and CMHC was to participate in planning how to spend the allocated NIP money in their communities. The role of the participants in that function was perceived rather differently within and across comparison groups.

The municipal representatives and planners, on the whole, felt that the citizens group should be advisory or consultative. One municipal representative suggested that they should be advisory or it would compete with council, and "you can't have two councils". This respondent was very adamant that there is only one elected body which is responsible to its constituents, and that citizens groups should not become "another arm of government". He also suggested that "citizens don't understand or care very much".

A planner agreed that "citizens can't do the homework", and if they could, the professionals and citizens would arrive at different decisions. Therefore the planners must actively manipulate decisions and introduce constraints on decision-making. The role of the citizens should be consultative as

they (the Administration) "didn't want to fund revolution". Other planners and municipal representatives felt that the citizens group should be decision-making but subject to council approval.

Most of the respondents in the participant comparison group felt that the role of the citizens' group should be decision-making with approval from council. There were some problems identified, however, with this role. A mechanism for regular communication with council, like that possessed by the planning department, should exist for citizens groups in programs, was one respondent's view. Another suggested that there was some overlap with council, and the responsibilities of the citizens group should be clarified. One respondent suggested that council should be bypassed altogether, and that a committee composed of CMHC, AHC and community group representatives should approve the decisions of the citizens group.

All of the NIP/community coordinators except one felt that the citizens group should be decision-making. The exception reported that because citizens don't have enough information for decision-making, the group should be advisory and adversary in order to keep council accountable to the community. This respondent felt that the role should be one of a policing or watchdog agency in relation to council. Other respondents in this group, on the other hand, were adamant that the participation component in a program should not be reactive, but that the responsibilities of the citizen group should be clear.

The issue of resident control over decisions was, not surprisingly, rather uneven. The constraints on spending enforced by the three levels of government made limited resident control inherent in the program in the first place. What CMHC and AHC deemed eligible for funding under NIP did not always reflect community identified needs for neighbourhood improvement. For example, many small municipalities identified municipal buildings, particularly fire halls, as high priority needs. These items were not eligible for funding according to the policy interpretation of the federal and provincial governments.

The municipal governments in smaller centres often imposed a further restraint on municipal services. The cost-sharing for funding municipal services was 50% municipality. Many town councils felt this formula to be prohibitive and NIP committees were informed that plans submitted which contained municipal service projects would not be approved. Several respondents mentioned that such projects as paving were high priorities in their communities, but they were forced to operate within the constraints imposed by councils.

In larger centres, several respondents reported similar constraints, and felt that NIP money was being used to carry out pre-determined city plans, or was being spent on items which the city should have paid for without the NIP program. It was reported in one neighbourhood in Calgary, that a certain amount of money had to be devoted to paving which was last on the list

of community-identified priorities.

Resident control over NIP planning was limited by these constraints on spending. Residents were thus offered "control" over decisions within government defined boundaries. Even within these boundaries, the amount of perceived control over decisions varied.

It is interesting that, despite differences in views towards the role of a citizens group as a program component, the municipal representatives and planners invariably felt that in NIP neighbourhoods where they were involved, the citizens had made the decisions. Participants, on the whole, reported that they felt they had either possessed control over decisions, or that there had been a partnership between planners and residents. The NIP coordinators agreed with participants and municipal representatives that residents had possessed decision control. A note of dissension comes from the community coordinators.

Community coordinators reported that the residents had been mainly advisory in some of the urban neighbourhoods. Edmonton coordinators reported that the planning department reversed resident decisions and there was conflict over priorities. Calgary coordinators reported that council was afraid of citizen power in the beginning, but acceptance was better towards the end of the program. Nonetheless, all agreed that despite conflict and some lack of resident control, "we (the neighbourhood) got what we wanted".

Much of the reported conflict between resident groups and councils and Administration seemed to result from problems in information and over need determination. Conflict among residents, as perceived by planners and municipal representatives seemed to lie particularly with need determination.

Determination of the Public Interest

As discussed in Chapter 3, in the case of legislated citizen participation, the determination of needs relative to a particular program may be considered a surrogate for the determination of the public interest. The results of the file search showed that questionnaires and public meetings had been most commonly employed in NIP for the purposes of need identification.

The interviews supported the results of the file search. Although some respondents reported that there had been some interest group lobbying (for example, in one neighbourhood, five women wanted a park), and despite the apparent low levels of questionnaire validity and reliability reported from the file search, all comparison groups felt that need identification had been accurate in the sample neighbourhoods because the needs were "obvious" to everyone.

No evidence was found during the research process to dispute this view, although it was the subject of many discussions at the provincial and federal levels. Several AHC and CMHC personnel were concerned that the needs "identified" in

many neighbourhoods-particularly smaller municipalities--reflected small scale tyranny or interest group lobbying. This concern remains unanswered.

Information

The availability, accuracy and completeness of information for planning was of concern in all comparison groups. That information was a critical problem was agreed by all, but there were some differences within and among comparison groups.

In Edmonton, residents were not involved in the hiring of consultants. Participants and community coordinators reported that there was not enough information at the citizen level; information was blocked by the planning department and that citizens got informed "after the fact". This was not surprising in view of the planners' opinion that information was confidential, and that citizens do not get all the information because they might "interpret it wrong".

In Calgary, planners reported that information to citizens was necessary because it "bolstered the substance of the community point of view", and the citizen group hired consultants jointly with the planning department. Nevertheless, participants and coordinators reported information blockages through the administration, particularly provincial and federal information. One respondent suggested that this was not intentional, but reflected typical bureaucratic uncoordination, and that "the provincial departments only find out what each other

is doing after the national news".

In the small municipalities, the information problems were reported to stem from communication problems with AHC--mostly in terms of what was eligible for funding under NIP. This reflected the lack of policy clarity in the program discussed in Chapter 4.

Information thus appeared very dependent on the immediate delivery agency, and was a problem across the board. This is relative to problems with coordination as well as reflective of the attitude of a particular delivery agency.

Interrelationship and Coordination

For NIP, interrelationship and coordination involved the relationships between the NIP committee and the NIP/community coordinators, delivery agency, the three levels of government, and other voluntary organizations in the community. As discussed in Chapter 4, the coordination of NIP with other programs, and intragovernmental coordination was not very visible.

The relationship between the NIP committee and the NIP coordinators in the small municipalities ran the gamut of manager to information broker to advocate. Participants and municipal representatives tended to perceive the NIP coordinator as a liaison between the NIP committee and council. One participant reported that the NIP coordinator was "a parental figure". NIP coordinators, however, reported some role identity

problems created because they were hired by council but "worked for" the NIP commitee and were sometimes placed in untenable positions where there was conflict between the two parties. Several NIP coordinators perceived the project manager at AHC as their "boss" because they received most direction and guidance from that source--one additional factor in their role confusion!

The NIP committees in Edmonton and Calgary hired the community coordinators and experienced a relationship with them similar to that of the NIP committees with their NIP coordinators. In these instances, however, the coordinators were reported as having a liaison or advocate role between committee and the administration (planning department) rather than council. Because these coordinators were hired by the citizens group, they reported less role confusion than NIP coordinators. Edmonton community coordinators, however, reported that they experienced some problem with the planning department which viewed the coordinators as both an arm of administration and an advocate for the citizens. This negatively affected the amount and kind of information to which coordinators had access.

The NIP committees in smaller municipalities had more direct contact with their councils than in Edmonton and Calgary where the planning departments were inserted between committee and council. The councils, in order to receive federal and provincial money, were rather obligated to recognize the citizens group. This kind of "political integration" was

correlated positively with successful program implementation in Gilbert and Specht's (1973, 1974, 1975) work. Some participants reported, however, that this recognition was somewhat reluctant and superficial on the part of some councils. The reason for this was suggested as partially stemming from council perception of the citizens group as a threat to their power. Municipal representatives, however, revealed a certain amount of antagonism resulting from AHC's approach to the program. NIP coordinators and councils were instructed by AHC[4] that there was to be no direct involvement on the part of council in planning. Despite this, council still had to approve the plan for NIP funding and were responsible for the provision of the municipal financial share in the program. This created a feeling of "having their hands tied". Other municipal representatives, however, reported welcoming the involvement of citizens because it "took the onus off council" to do all the work. One municipal representative suggested that it was "good to divide administration or there was too much authority in one place".

The relationship as reported between the planning department and the NIP committees differed somewhat between Edmonton and Calgary. This seemed to be the result of differing operation and perhaps attitude towards participation between the two. In any case, in Edmonton, the apparent relationship was primarily advisor-consultant with the NIP committee advising the planners. In Calgary, the same advisor-consultant

[4] NIP coordinators, AHC personnel. Personal communication.

role was reversed with the planners advising the citizens. The latter relationship seemed to result in more of a citizen-planner partnership in decision-making than was perceived by participants and coordinators in Edmonton. Edmonton planners, however, still reported joint decision-making with citizens.

None of the comparison groups reported any direct relationship between the NIP committees and AHC or CMHC. In the smaller municipalities, as discussed in Chapter 4, the profile of AHC and CMHC was higher than in Edmonton and Calgary, but the relationship was with the NIP coordinator rather than the NIP committees. No direct contact between NIP committees and community coordinators was reported with AHC or CMHC. This may have contributed to the information problem discussed above, as information from the province and CMHC had to filter down a long way before it reached the participants. CMHC and AHC reported, however, that the program was the responsibility of the municipality and that they could not "mix into municipal affairs".

The interrelationship between the NIP committees and other voluntary organizations in the community was reported in terms of communication. As no other planning body was mandated at the community level there was little reported evidence of duplication,[5] but participants and NIP/community coordinators said that there was increased communication among existing agencies and organizations within the neighbourhood.

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[5]Although the provincial department responsible for recreation communicated that it felt NIP was infringing upon planning activity under the Major Facilities Grant Program.

The comparison groups also perceived an ongoing role in the community for the resident group created under NIP. This role was perceived variously as a community decision-making structure with administration and council liaison; a community advocate with regular input into council; a recreation governing body; a community coordinating council; or as a policing agency with respect to council accountability. Several participants, however, felt that this group would be seen as threatening to elected representatives; one planner perceived such a group as threatening to the planning department because it was the department's function to "interpret municipal policy to the people". Planners and municipal representatives could also not foresee funding being available to this "fourth level of government" once the program expired; participants and NIP/community coordinators felt that financial support was essential and should be available from some source.

Success

The direct question asked of comparison groups with respect to the success of resident involvement in NIP elicited the least response of all the theoretical sampling categories. Respondents replied primarily in quantitative terms such as "its hard to get people involved unless they pay money" or "not too many people want to participate". Other than this quantitative dimension, there was simply no articulation of success. There

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Further support for the reported lack of coordination with other programs and other departments with NIP as discussed earlier.

seemed to be no basis--no criteria--on which respondents could base their answers and feelings. Invariably people floundered on this question and in fact rhetorically asked the researcher how one judged successful involvement. As mentioned earlier, this result reinforces the rationale for this research--the absence of adequate success criteria for citizen participation; this absence was pervasive across all the comparison groups. Respondents were, however, very articulate and definite about what they considered to be the impact of the citizen participation experience in NIP.

Impact

There was a high level of agreement among comparison groups responses concerning the impact of participation in NIP in the community. Municipal representatives suggested that there was increased community pride and better relationships between council and other groups as a result of participation or resident involvement in NIP. "People were working together".

Planners reported increased sophistication in planning at the community level; that participation in NIP was a breakthrough for planning. There was an increased sense of confidence and feeling of hope in the community. One planner suggested that participating in NIP was "great political and administration experience". "Mrs. X wasn't afraid to phone the Prime Minister". It had been a "politicization process" in that people got to know City Hall, how to be citizens, who

to contact, where to go and what to do. The participants "knew their rights and how to act on them", planners reported, and were more active citizens. The community was more politically attuned; there was a greater "sense of efficacy and political awareness".

Another planner cited the volunteer involvement of an 85 year old man as his assistant and suggested that people in the community were getting involved again. The process was an education in problem identification and problem solving; and a stepping stone to municipal politics.

Planners' reported the creation of community; "there never was a Ramsay (before participation in NIP)". There was an increase in the number of functioning community groups, and in planned activity. People, it was suggested, were able to see their community more clearly.

The NIP/community coordinators saw the impact of participation as an increase in community awareness; in communication; and in sense of community pride. They reported that people were thinking about planning and different levels of government, and participants had "gone on to do other things" such as run for municipal office, or organize other community groups. The NIP participation experience had been a "training ground for involvement in other things --they (the participants) knew how to submit proposals". Concomitantly, it was reported that councils had learned how to work with community groups; that the council-citizen relationship need not be adversary.

The coordinators also perceived an increase in the number of community organizations as a spin-off of NIP. Groups worked together better with less conflict and more participants. Participation in NIP itself was often reported as "snowballing". People "came out of the woodwork"; and often people with no participation history became involved. The community had become dynamic again with an increased sense of spirit and identity.

The participants reiterated much of the above. They too reported that the NIP participation experience had "brought people together" and resulted in an increased sense of community, pride in the community, and more community spirit. There was more participation in other organizations and people were trained to work for the community. Interest in long range planning was spurred.

Better communication among groups was reported, with service organizations working together rather than in competition. The community was "working together". One participant suggested that participation in NIP in her neighbourhood had "made a community out of it" and that "worms had come out of the woodwork". People were doing things for the community.

The only dissenting note regarding impact came from CMHC where it was suggested that participation in NIP could increase community "atmosphere", but not create it. A rather semantic dissension possibly reflecting the distance of these respondents from the participation process and from the

neighbourhood. The impact of participation in NIP was thus reported as very positive across comparison groups, and in very similar terms.

5.3.4 Summary

The field interviews yielded rich perspective data for the theoretical sampling categories. While the sampling categories are clearly not mutually independent, they provided a framework for the collection and reporting of data. The areas of agreement and disagreement among comparison groups illustrate the perspectivism of the data and sheds some light on some of the interrelationships among the dimensions and problems of mandated citizen participation.

In summary, there was general agreement that there should be mandated citizen participation in government programs of this nature. Citizens, coordinators and some planners shared similar reasons for its necessity which differed from the reasons presented by municipal representatives, AHC, CMHC and other planners.

The structure of the participation unit differed by delivery agency but size (average 14) was relatively uniform. Except for the participants, all other comparison groups felt that representativeness was a problem, and this seemed independent of structure and mode of participant selection.

All comparison groups reported that the participation unit was accountable to the community through public meetings,

but this appeared to be accountability by default. In other words, non-attendance at public meetings and absence of vocal dissent implied community agreement with NIP committee decisions. This category seemed somewhat dependent on the method of decision-making relative to the community. While most NIP committees reported consensus in camera, whether these decisions required ratification by a larger body or acquiescence at a public meeting varied by neighbourhood.

Conflict was also related to decision-making methodology. Participants and coordinators were in agreement that the conflict area was between the resident group and the administration or council; planners and municipal representatives were more likely to report conflict at the neighbourhood level among the residents.

Conflict was also related to the function and role of the participation unit. There was agreement among comparison groups over the function of the unit relative to NIP, but some disagreement within and among comparison groups over the role of the unit. This role was perceived to range from advisory to partnership to decision-making. Conflict stemmed from a perceived gap between real and ideal in some instances. For example, if a respondent felt the role of the participation unit <u>should</u> be decision-making but had been advisory, the level of conflict was perceived as higher than that perceived by respondents whose experience reflected what they perceived as ideal.

All comparison groups reported that need identification had been accurate mostly because they were "obvious". This category relates to information, however, and all comparison groups were in agreement that information was a problem.

All comparison groups reported some problems with interrelationship and coordination which were believed to stem from information and communication problems between and among government levels, relative to each other, and to the citizen group. The latter was related to confusion over the role of the citizen group. Coordination among organizations at the neighbourhood level was generally reported as satisfactory due to enhanced communication, and non-duplication of the purpose of the NIP committee.

All comparison groups agreed in the sampling category of success insofar as--numbers of participants not withstanding--no group could articulate citizen participation in terms of success. They could, however, articulate impact and there was a high level of agreement in this category among comparison groups. The impact of participation in NIP was perceived and reported as very positive.

Upon completion of these field interviews, it was found that no new information was being generated for any of the theoretical sampling categories. It was believed that a level of theoretical saturation had been reached; the next step in the research process was therefore to test for theoretical

saturation.

5.4 Theoretical Saturation

The validity of inducted theory, grounded in data, depends, to a large extent, on whether a point of theoretical saturation has been reached during the research process. In order to test for theoretical saturation, further interviews were conducted in the neighbourhood of Montgomery in Calgary in August 1978. Montgomery was designated as a NIP neighbourhood in 1976 jointly with the adjacent neighbourhood of Bowness. It was selected as a test area because the neighbourhood characteristics seemed representative of those exhibited by both urban and rural neighbourhoods in the sample. It was also selected because the planning stage had been completed and it's designation year fell in the middle of legislated program life. The planning department was the immediate delivery agency and it was also under the jurisdiction of the Calgary offices of CMHC and AHC.

The following information was found in provincial files. The population of Montgomery has been declining and is now stable, and was 4162 in 1976. There was a maturing age structure with approximately 10% of the population over 65, approximately 50% working age, and the remaining 40% children. More than 50% of the population had lived there for longer than five years, and 70% of the dwellings were owner-occupied. From 1971 Census data, it was reported that the average annual

income was $8,432, considerably lower than the municipal average of $10,943. The housing stock was evaluated as poor--many homes lacked basements, and running water was a recent addition in many. The City of Calgary Planning Department judged the areas of high concern to be income, housing, and social conditions. Although Montgomery was annexed to Calgary as recently as 1963, and is located on the western outskirts of the city, the Planning Department reported that it portrayed many characteristics of an older, inner-city neighbourhood. The recent annexation made the neighbourhood similar to the small NIP municipalities because it had recently been one itself.

Of the six current members of the Montgomery NIP committee, only four had been involved in the planning stage. This supports the committee attrition and replacement reported earlier. Two of these four members were available for interviews, and a third was conducted with a recently retired committee member who had been involved during the planning stage. The two community coordinators were also interviewed; the planner attached to this neighbourhood during the planning stage was included in the previous sample.

The results of these interviews contributed no new information for any of the sampling categories.

For example, the participation process in NIP in Montgomery had followed the basic format outlined for Calgary as developed from the file search. The structure for

participation was identical to that reported for Inglewood/ Ramsay in that it was based on the community association.

Representativeness seemed to be a rather visible problem in Montgomery. The NIP coordinators talked about the existence of a "participation elite", and only one of the NIP committee members had lived in Montgomery prior to annexation to Calgary. Public meetings were the mode of community accountability, and the issue of community support by default (i.e. non-attendance at public meetings) was reported similarly to that of the sample neighbourhoods.

To report in detail the results of the Montgomery interviews would be a repetition of much of this chapter. On this basis, it was concluded that the point of theoretical saturation had been reached. The theoretical sampling categories saturated with perspective data, as collected, would provide a basis for the induction of success criteria with an acceptable level of validity.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has been a discussion of the collection and analysis of data as part of the research process. A file search and field interviews comprised the method of data collection for the theoretical sampling categories.

The results of the file search provided information about the characteristics of NIP neighbourhoods, served as initial familiarization with the participation process, and

validated the identified comparison groups and theoretical sampling categories. The format or process of participation in NIP in Alberta was found to be delivery agency dependent. The variety of neighbourhood types and the existence of three immediate delivery agencies lent validity to some of the research assumptions concerning the generalizability of the results.

A total of 23 Interviews was conducted in a cross-sectional sample of 9 neighbourhoods representative of the three immediate delivery agencies. The results of these interviews yielded perspective data distributed across the theoretical sampling categories. The point of theoretical saturation was tested with interviews in a 10th neighbourhood.

The inducted theoretical success criteria discussed in the next chapter are grounded in the data reported above.

Chapter 6

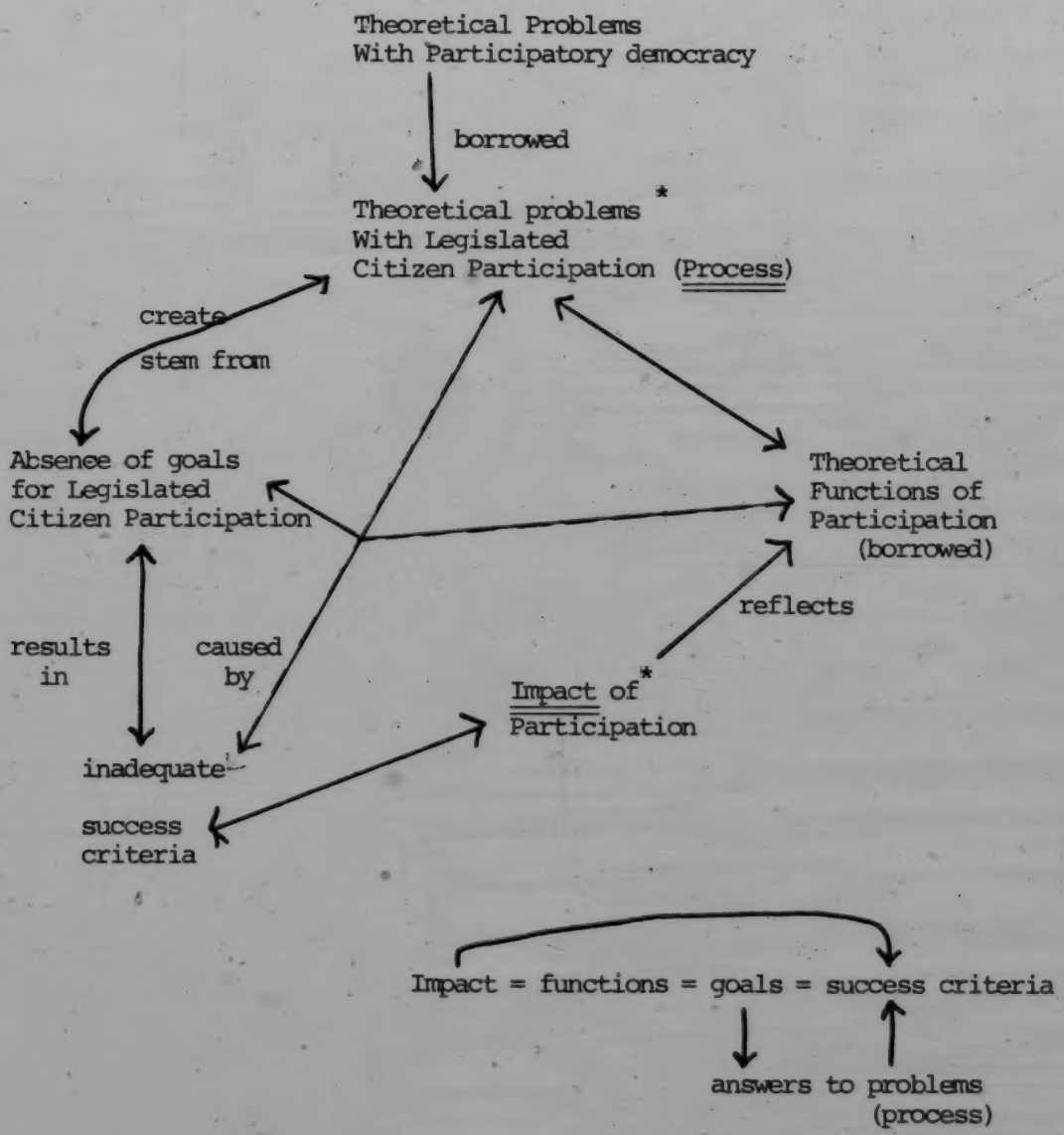
Interpretation and Induction

6.1 Introduction

Based on the data collected and analyzed during the entire research process, it is possible to interpret and induce success criteria for legislated citizen participation. This interpretation and induction is from a community development perspective. This perspective means that these success criteria would be applicable in an evaluation which is focussed towards the participants and their community.

In essence, the inductive process is a journey from the literature which provided the theoretical sampling categories to the data collected through theoretical sampling, and back to the literature again. As is common in this kind of research process, it sometimes becomes difficult to differentiate the sampling categories from those which emerge during the inductive process. In this case, both kinds of categories sometimes have similar labels as a result of the inductive process. The emergent categories, however, are grounded in the data, and interpreted as constituting success criteria for the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation.

While it seems rather like "putting the cart before the horse", the basis for the inductive process is reviewed for the reader. As with similar synthetic activities, it is



*Theoretical sampling categories
process and impact or product

Figure 8. The Linkages of the Process Leading to the Induction of Success Criteria

difficult to reduce this process into its analytic components without losing something in the translation.

Figure 8 is a diagram outlining some of the linkages of logic in the process. The core of this process begins with the use of some of the theoretical problems with legislated citizen participation. The fact that these problems belong in the blurred boundary between theories of classical and contemporary democracy has been discussed. The use of the theoretical problems as theoretical sampling categories has been justified by their relationship to the absence of goals for legislated citizen participation within a representative democracy. In other words, the absence of goals creates some of the theoretical problems, or some of the theoretical problems stem from the absence of goals. The relationship between success criteria and goals has been established in evaluation research literature (Suchman, 1967; Weiss, 1972 and others). Therefore, it seems possible to focus on the theoretical problems, as a surrogate for the core problem of absence of goals, in relation to success criteria.

The theoretical problems with legislated citizen participation are also problems with the process of citizen participation. Therefore, it seems logical that a process component of success criteria may be induced from data collected in these categories.

Success criteria, however, also have an impact or product component (Suchman, 1967; Weiss, 1972) which is even more strongly related to goals. Therefore, it seems logical that an impact component of success criteria may be induced from data collected in the category of impact.

As will be explained further, the findings in the theoretical sampling category of impact are interpreted as reflecting the theoretical functions of participation as discussed in the literature. These theoretical functions also lie in the blurred boundary between classical and contemporary theories of democracy. Therefore, it appears that the product component of success criteria might be equivalent to the theoretical functions. Because of the relationship between impact and success, and success and goals, it is plausible that the theoretical functions of citizen participation could also be the goals of legislated participation; and thus its success criteria. If this is true, then the process component which achieves the theoretical functions of citizen participation may also be considered successful; and a component of success criteria.

In summary, if impact is equal to success and if impact is equal to the theoretical functions of participation, then the theoretical functions of participation are equal to success. Concomitantly, if the theoretical functions of participation are equal to success, and if success is equal to goals then the theoretical functions of participation are

equal to the goals of participation. Conversely, if the goals of participation are equal to its theoretical functions, then the theoretical functions are equal to success. As such the theoretical functions of participation, as grounded in the data, are interpreted as comprising the impact component of success criteria for the phenomenon.

At the same time, it is suggested that a process component of success criteria is also grounded in the data. This component is interpreted from data collected in sampling categories which are related to the process of citizen participation. It is further suggested that there is some kind of relationship between process and success in that meeting the process component of the success criteria would result in meeting their impact component, and thus achieving the goals of citizen participation.

This logic of the inductive process provides the framework for the interpretation discussed in the following sections.

6.2 Initial Interpretation

The inductive process just described is founded on two basic premises interpreted from the data. These basic premises are that citizens should participate; and that in the case of legislated citizen participation, the citizens are defined as the direct recipients of a program. In other words, the participants are a subset of the recipient or

target population of a particular program.

These premises are grounded in the data, and their validity is established through what Bruyn (1966) terms consensus of meaning. In other words, there was universal agreement among the comparison groups, that citizens should participate, and on this target population definition of the citizens. Because these are basic premises, they may also be considered a priori assumptions for legislated citizen participation. Therefore, an authentic assessment of a mandated citizen participation experience could not occur unless these two conditions exist.

The raison d'etre of legislated citizen participation, however, did not have consensus of meaning among comparison groups. There was a difference between program recipients and program deliverers over the reason for citizen participation. As mentioned earlier, the former suggested reasons related to the democratic credo, while the latter tended to suggest program implementation or policy legitimation. This difference supports the research rationale that program implementation alone is not adequate as a success criterion for citizen participation. The fact that program implementation was never a reason expressed by participants makes it particularly inauthentic from a community development perspective. To employ it alone would be antithetical to the philosophical assumptions of the field. The fact that program implementation was, however, salient to some of the groups involved in a

mandated participation experience suggests that it must be included at some point. To exclude it would be unethical in the terms of government programs and this research.

In addition to the two basic premises, the inductive process was operative within the kind of participation environment created by legislation. This environment may be interpreted as narrow. In other words, while it may have been considered that a program would be more appropriate if the recipients participated, the "appropriateness" was controlled.

For example, there were constraints on the decisions of the citizens by virtue of government imposition of what constituted "eligible" decisions. The mandate within which citizens participated was limited initially by the government-determined financial capacity of the program, and further by government-defined boundaries within this capacity. Even within these boundaries, an extensive, cumbersome tri-level system of monitoring and control was in operation; the senior levels of government had veto power, even over and above those at the municipal level. Where there was an insertion of another level of bureaucracy--municipal administration--another set of constraints was often imposed.

These constraints create the kind of participation environment depicted in Figure 9. This environment may be likened to a series of concentric rings each imposing constraints upon the next inner ring. The participation environment becomes narrower and narrower the more layers of

government and bureaucracy surround it. The existence and size of the inner circle--where citizens participate--is dependent upon the outer rings.

The narrowness of the legislated environment for participation reinforces the inappropriateness of citizen control as the sole criterion for the success of citizen participation. While citizen control within the narrow boundaries established by government may be applauded, the question of "control over what" becomes particularly cogent. In a province where municipal governments are regarded as provincial children,[1] it seems doubtful that citizen groups would be recognized as a fourth level of government with real control beyond the minor or the trivial. To reiterate one planner, "they (government) were not going to fund revolution".

It also appeared that citizen control in a government program is clearly given and not taken; attempts to go beyond government-imposed decision constraints resulted in conflict. This conflict tended to be resolved in favour of the government. This may reflect government control over program funding; and it is the funding which determines the existence and operation of a program.

It might also be noted at this point that the use of control as a lone success criterion would also be somewhat frustrating. This is illustrated by the variety of perceptions, over the amount of control actually possessed by participants,

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[1]Meeting. Department of Housing and Public Works. June, 1978.

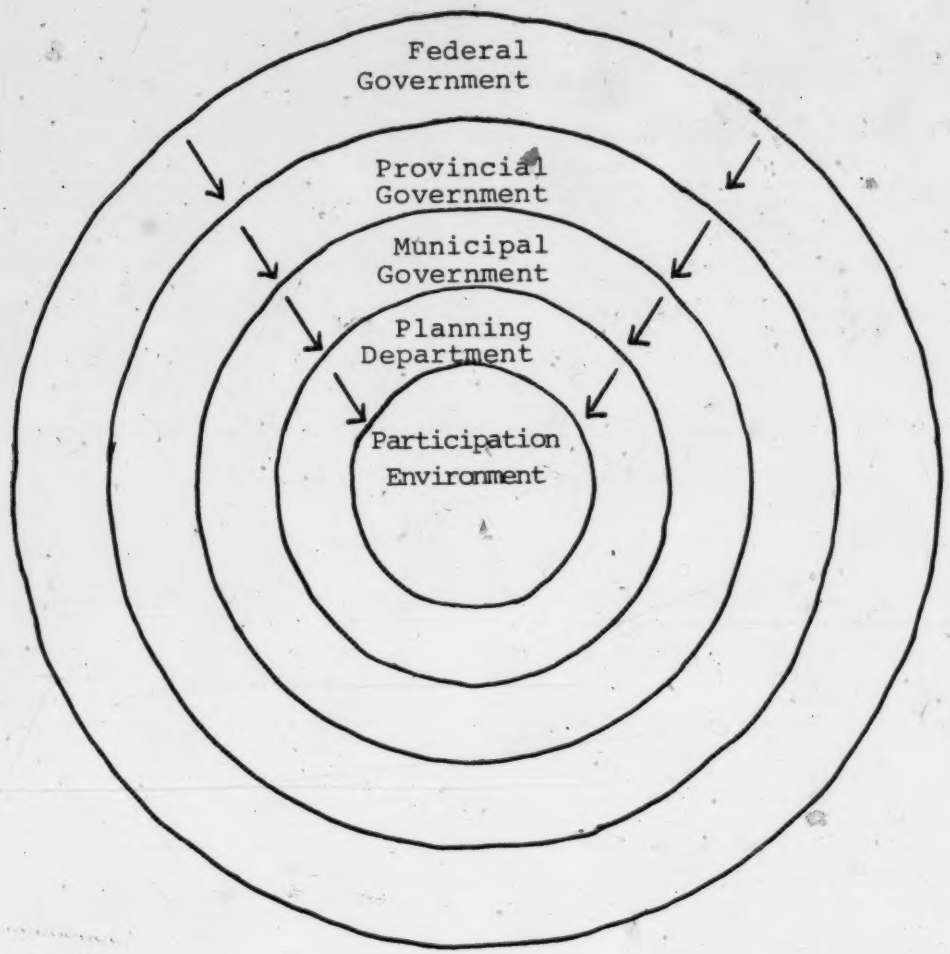

Figure 9 The Interrelationship of Levels of Government and Administration and the Environment for Citizen Participation as a Government Program Component

found in this data. There was no consensus across comparison groups within a particular neighbourhood on how much control the resident group had. Even within comparison groups, it was difficult to establish a consensus of perception. Therefore, the results of an evaluation based on citizen control might be very actor specific.

Nevertheless, there was a high level of agreement among comparison groups that the citizens should possess control over such decisions which were deemed eligible. Citizen control over decisions is also the essence of the community development philosophy referred to in this research. Clearly some level of control must be included in the success criteria.

There is however, a caveat and a note of dissension. Those who felt citizens should have control over decisions also felt that these decisions should be subject to the approval of an elected body at the municipal level. Within all of the comparison groups, there was also the view that citizens should be advisory rather than in possession of control. The approval caveat and the dissentive note further support the research rationale that citizen control alone is not adequate as a success criterion.

Within the somewhat narrow environment of legislated citizen participation, the basic assumptions that citizens should participate and are defined as the program recipients are grounded in the data. Also grounded is the inadequacy of using program implementation and citizen control as

complete success criteria; concomitantly their inclusion in any success criteria is mandatory. On the basis of this initial interpretation, the following illative success criteria are presented.

6.3 Success Criteria

The success criteria for legislated citizen participation, as interpreted and induced from the data collected during theoretical sampling, are composed of a process component and an impact component. The data collected in the sampling categories related to the prpcess of citizen participation are interpreted as comprising the process component; the data collected in the sampling category of impact are interpreted as comprising the impact component. It should be reiterated that the dimensions of these components have been given labels similar to either the original sampling categories or to aspects of participation found in the literature. These dimensions, however, are interpreted as they "emerged" from respondent data and as such are grounded in the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation. Their interpretation and labelling is the result of the inductive process discussed earlier.

6.3.1 Impact Component

The data collected in the theoretical sampling category of impact contained the highest level of consensus of meaning or agreement, among and within comparison groups, of all the

complete success criteria; concomitantly their inclusion in any success criteria is mandatory. On the basis of this initial interpretation, the following illative success criteria are presented.

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6.3.1 Impact Component

The data collected in the theoretical sampling category of impact contained the highest level of consensus of meaning or agreement, among and within comparison groups, of all the

sampling categories. The statements of respondents were in many cases almost identical. When one looks at the data reported by comparison group in Chapter 5, it is possible to interchange the titles of the comparison groups and not change the results.

The data on impact seem to fall into three main categories. These are: something to do with a sense of community (cf. spirit, pride, identity, belonging), something to do with citizenship (cf. knowledge of rights, networks in the bureaucracy, politicization) and something to do with a feeling of power (cf. city council listening, being able to make good decisions, having a say in what happened in the community).

This categorization of data is shown in Table 8. Each of the categories is interpreted as being a dimension of the impact of participation on the participants and their community. Together they are interpreted as forming the impact component of success criteria.

If one returns to the literature on participation, these three dimensions appear identical to the theoretical functions of participation according to theories of classical or participatory democracy, and which were adopted in theories of contemporary or representative democracy. These theoretical functions are labelled as education, integration, efficacy and legitimation. Therefore the dimension of impact related to a sense of community is labelled as integration; that

TABLE 8

The Impact Component of Success Criteria for Legislated Citizen Participation: Categorization of Data According to Dimensions of Impact

Data Summary	Dimension of Impact
better communication increased community pride and spirit people working together feeling of hope increased involvement and participation creation of community increased awareness of community increased sense of community identity	integration
training ground for other involvement increased sophistication in planning at community level political and administration experience politicization process knowledge of City Hall knowledge of rights and how to act on them more active citizens education in problem identification and solving stepping stone to municipal politics	education
better relationship between council and resident groups increased sense of confidence in the community political attunement sense of efficacy and political awareness increased number of functioning community groups	efficacy
participation unit decisions accepted by the community at large programs was accepted by participants*	legitimation

*not applicable in these terms where goal-equivalency does not exist between the program and its target population. In these instances, acceptance of the participation unit decisions by the community becomes more important.

related to citizenship is labelled as education; and that related to power is labelled as efficacy.

The legitimation function of citizen participation was not salient in terms of impact for any of the comparison groups. Nevertheless, the program was accepted by the participants and was being implemented. This, plus the fact that for some comparison groups, an important reason for citizen participation was that program implementation was believed to be better with target population acceptance, suggests that legitimation should be included as a dimension of impact.

Thus, there are four dimensions of the impact of participation grounded in the data. Their similarity to the theoretical functions of participation as identified in the literature has resulted in labels for these dimensions which are synonymous with those used for the functions.

The dimension of impact which is labelled integration was the most salient for all of the comparison groups in this study. It was this kind of impact which was reported most frequently, and particularly emphasized by the participants themselves. This salience suggests that it may be a very critical criterion of success. It is not one found in the existing literature of the evaluation of citizen participation as a program component. Its importance, particularly for participants, suggests that it should be employed in any evaluation undertaken from a community development perspective.

Next to integration, however, was the salience of what is interpreted as the dimension of education. As a theoretical function, education is reported in the literature as the most important. This suggests that education is also a critical criterion of success for citizen participation. Again, it is not found in evaluation literature on the topic of citizen participation.

The interpretated dimension of impact which has been labelled efficacy is perhaps closest to the criterion of citizen control which is so often employed in evaluations of programs with a citizen participation component. It is suggested, however, that citizen control may relate more to the process of participation and as such will be discussed under the process component of success criteria. The data in this study which are categorized and labelled as the dimension of efficacy reflect more a sense of control related to political attunement, an increased sense of confidence in the community and its members, and the recognition by representative government of the voice of the community in decisions which affect it. In these terms, the dimension of efficacy is not often found in the reports of citizen participation evaluations.

The dimension interpreted as legitimation was perhaps least important in terms of impact for the participants. The data from participant-observation in NIP (Chapter 4) show that the program was being implemented, and positively accepted by the communities. As grounded, this dimension may also be

considered a criterion of success. It also relates most directly to the commonly employed criterion of program implementation. From a community development perspective, however, program implementation, in fact, may be considered in some sense as a byproduct of program acceptance on the part of a target population. In other words, while a program may be implemented more successfully where it is accepted by the participants, it is this acceptance or legitimation which is more important in terms of successful citizen participation.

It should also be noted that the dimension of legitimation in program terms may only be applicable in cases of non-reactive citizen participation. If goal equivalency does not exist between a program and the participants, then this criterion may not be met. This does not mean that a participation experience will not meet the other criteria or that it must be judged as unsuccessful. As noted in Table 8, in these cases, community acceptance of participation unit decisions may comprise the legitimation dimension.

Because the four dimensions of impact dovetail with the theoretical functions of participation, it is argued that these functions/dimensions may be considered as the goals of legislated citizen participation. Therefore, they also constitute an impact component of success criteria for the phenomenon. While some aspects of these dimensions may have been considered, on the whole, they are not found in the literature in terms of success for a legislated citizen

participation experience. As such, the four dimensions are considered to be discovered, grounded success criteria for this phenomenon.

The dimension of this new impact component appear to be mutually interdependent. This suggests that it is impossible to experience one dimension of impact without experiencing, to some degree, all of the others. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the impact of citizen participation on participants and their community is synergistic. This hypothesis mitigates the use of a single dimension as a surrogate measure for success, and demands the employment of all four as the success criteria in an evaluation of the impact of mandated citizen participation.

It is further hypothesized that this synergistic impact of participation may result from a process of participation which meets the criteria of the process component of success.

6.3.2 Process Component

The data collected in the sampling categories related to the process of participation are interpreted in terms of a process component of success criteria. Again, the interpretation is based on consensus of meaning, or agreement among comparison groups. For this component, the interpretation is based primarily on what respondents perceived as problems or critical issues of the participation process.

The agreement on process for this partciular participation experience does not necessarily mean that this experience constitutes a successful process. The relationship between process and the achievement of goals, the success criteria, is still the subject for further research. Nevertheless, this process did result in the impact which has been interpreted as success criteria, and must be seriously examined.

The kind of structure for the participation unit seemed rather immaterial in terms of whether an existing structure, a new structure or some composite was used. The universality of the subcommittee structure which evolved spontaneously in all of the neighbourhoods suggests that this is likely a structure which contributes to successful citizen participation. The size of the active participation unit also hovered around 20 which supports Washnis' (1974) observation concerning effective size; and may be interpreted as a size in which direct participation is possible and probably effective.

The representativeness of the participation structure was considered important by all comparison groups, but there was disagreement over whether or not a particular unit was indeed representative of the community. Representativeness did not seem dependent upon the method of participant selection but rather on the existence of differential participation. As long as participation remains voluntary, there will always be some groups in a community which remain unrepresented. While representativeness is laudable to strive towards, it is

argued that the accountability of the participation unit to the community is much more critical.

The accountability of the participation units to the community in the NIP experience was primarily by default. While the participants perceived an acceptable level of accountability, the level of conflict seen in the community by other comparison groups may have been reflective of this method of accountability by default. Therefore, the salience of accountability suggests that it should be part of a successful citizen participation process. This seems much more useful in terms of evaluation than examining the level of conflict within the community as others have done (eg. Gilbert & Specht 1973). It seems unreasonable to suggest that a low level of community conflict over decisions means that participation is successful. It may be as probable that the community has been quiescent as it is probable that it accepts the decisions of the participation unit. If the unit is truly accountable for its decisions, then it may be assumed that the conflict will be resolved in a just fashion. Accountability is thus interpreted to be one of the key dimensions of process. Size, structure and representativeness become less important in the presence of real accountability. These aspects, however, may be part of the means of achieving accountability and should not be ignored.

Some of the problems in assessing the accuracy of need determination are also circumvented in the presence of

accountability. If the community accepts the needs as determined by an accountable participation unit, then it could be assumed that the determination was accurate.

Information, however, becomes an important variable related to the accuracy of need determination and of all decisions. All of the comparison groups reported problems with the availability and accuracy of information. The lack of information for decision-making was also the reason why some respondents felt that citizen groups should be advisory. With the existence of adequate, accurate information, there was an overall reported belief that citizens could make good decisions. This and Rousseau's (in Cook & Morgan, 1971) belief that mistakes in the general will were due to the uninformed, suggests that information is another key dimension of process.

There was no disagreement among comparison groups over the function of the resident group: it was to plan the spending of NIP funds in the community. Therefore, the function of a participation unit, when participation is legislated, is also legislated or program determined. The role of the resident group in that function was, however, a source of disagreement. It was the differences in perception of role which seemed to cause most of the conflict between the resident groups and administration or council. It was also the role of the group which created the most apparent discrepancy between the ideal and the real. In other words, in cases where the residents believed they should have control and the administration or

council viewed the resident group as advisory, there was a fair amount of conflict reported.

The data, however, suggest that there was a great deal of agreement among comparison groups on what the role of such a resident group should be within a representative democracy. This was a role in which the resident group should have control over decisions, with the administration acting in an advisory capacity, and with those decisions subject to the approval of an elected body at the municipal level. This seems like a very plausible role for citizen participation within a representative system. It reflects a belief in people and in self-determination, and also recognizes the existence and integrity of representative government as well as the larger community. This role is interpreted as one which may contribute to successful citizen participation.

The function and role of the citizen participation unit account for both program implementation and citizen control as mandatory aspects of success criteria. If the function of the unit, as program determined, is achieved, then program implementation would be at least partially satisfied. If the role of the citizen group was as described above, then citizen control would also be satisfied. Clearly function and role are also key dimensions of process.

The problems reported concerning interrelationship and coordination seemed to stem more from problems with communication and information, which resulted from tri-level government

involvement, rather than problems within the community. These may diminish if the role of the resident group is agreed upon, and as long as the program-determined function does not duplicate the function of other groups in the community. The reported increase in communication among groups in the community as a result of the NIP experience suggests that interrelationship and coordination among groups for legislated citizen participation may not be as great a problem in practice as it is in theory.

This interpretation of the theoretical sampling data yields a picture of what may be the dimensions of the process component of success criteria for legislated citizen participation. This component is shown in Figure 10.

It is suggested that there are four key dimensions of this component which are accountability, function, role, and information. The achievement of these four dimensions would thus constitute a successful participation process. As depicted in Figure 10, it is suggested that these dimensions are also interdependent with size, structure, representativeness, interrelationship and coordination, and need identification. It is argued, however, that if the four key dimensions are achieved then the latter aspects or dimensions may also be achieved. In other words, an appropriate size and structure for a participation unit would exist, representativeness would be less of a problem; there would be comfortable interrelationships and coordination between the participation unit and

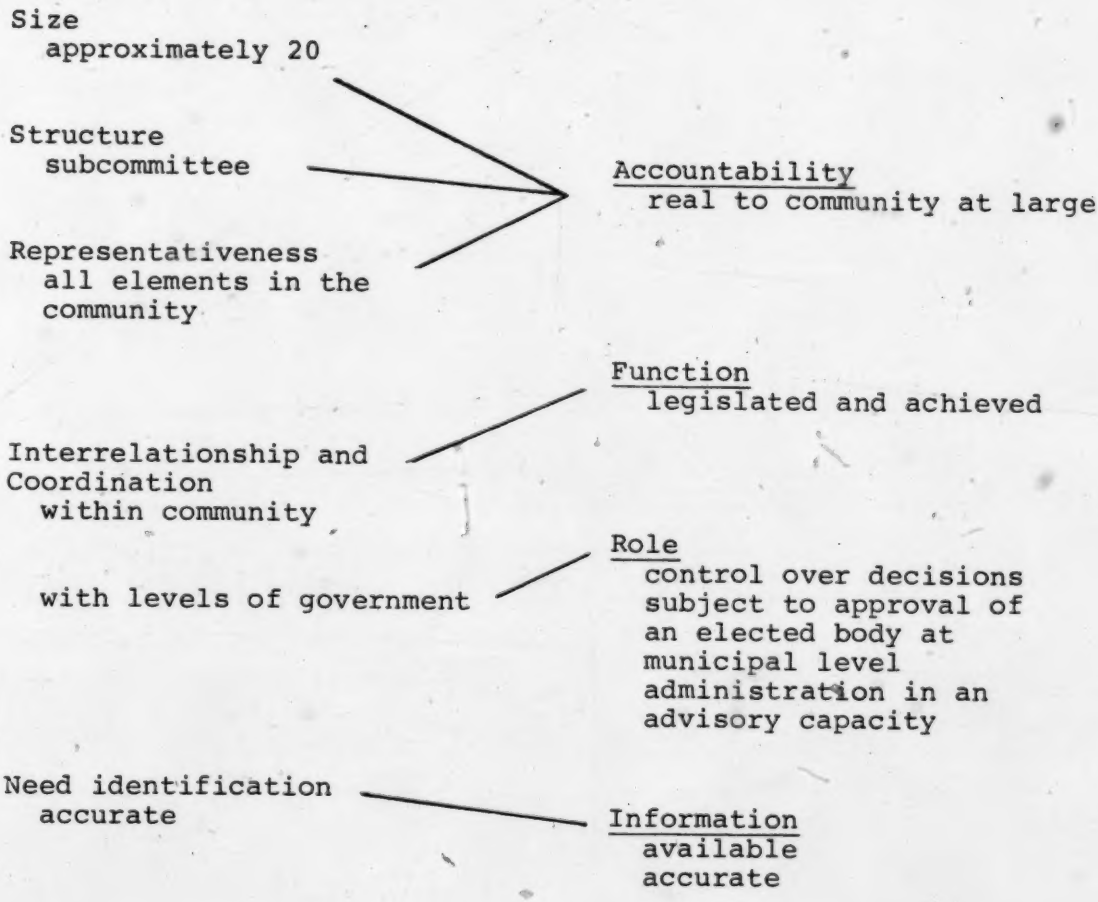

Figure 10. The Dimensions and the Process Component of Success Criteria for Legislated Citizen Participation

other organizations in the community, and with levels of government; and need identification may be assumed as accurate.

The four dimensions which compose the process component of the success criteria are interpreted as key dimensions because they reflect the most salient problems for respondents in a participation experience. As such, this interpretation is grounded in the data. The interdependence of the key dimensions with the other dimensions, however, implies that the latter should not be ignored in practice or in evaluation.

This process component includes the commonly employed criteria of citizen control and program implementation with a new interpretation related to the role and function of a participation unit. The apparent interdependence of all the process dimensions, however, suggests that the process of participation may be as synergistic as its impact. Therefore, all four of the key dimensions should be employed as the process component of success. This constitutes discovered, grounded success criteria for the process of legislated citizen participation.

The process and impact components of the developed success criteria are summarized in Table 9. Each of the dimensions for each component should be considered as a continuum and relative rather than dichotomous and absolute. They are not variables which either exist or do not exist. In other words, a change or an "increase" along any or all dimensions as a result of a legislated citizen participation

Table 9

Success Criteria for Legislated Citizen Participation: The Dimensions of Its Process and Impact Components [1]

Operational Assumptions: 1. Citizens should participate
2. Citizens are defined as program recipients: participants are a subset of program target population.

Process Component [2]

Dimension	Operational Definition of Dimension Continuum
Accountability	Real accountability of the participation unit to the community at large. May be interdependent with the size, structure and representativeness of the unit.
Function	Function of the participation unit is legislated and achieved. This constitutes, to some degree, partial program implementation. Interdependent with the interrelationship and coordination of the unit with other community organizations.
Role	Role of the participation unit is control over decision-making with decisions subject to approval by an elected body at the municipal level. The administration acts in an advisory capacity. Interdependent with the interrelationship and coordination of the unit with levels of government.
Information	Information for participation unit decision-making is available and accurate. Interdependent with accurate need identification.

Table 9 (Continued)

Impact Component[3]	
Dimension	Operational Definition of Dimension Continuum
Integration	Related to sense of community—feeling of community pride, spirit and identity. Feeling of hope. People working together and communicating. Involvement and participation.
Education	Related to citizenship. Politicization. Political, administrative and organizational experience. Knowledge of rights and how to act on them. Stepping stone to other political involvement. Experience in problem identification and solving.
Efficacy	Related to sense of confidence in the community and its members. Recognition by representative government of community decision-making. Political attunement.
Legitimation	Related to acceptance of participation unit decisions by the community at large. Acceptance of a program by its participants in cases of goal equivalency between a program and its target population.[4]

[1]From a community development perspective.

[2]Relates to participation unit.

[3]Relates to participants and their community.

[4]In cases where goal equivalency does not exist, the acceptance of participation unit decisions becomes the main operational definition.

experience, may constitute a degree of success.

The process component may be considered as an end in itself and as a means to an end. This end would be the impact component of the success criteria. While it has been suggested that the exact relationship between process and impact is a matter for further study, it is hypothesized that if there is a breakdown in any one of the key process dimensions, it is unlikely that all four dimensions of impact would be maximized.

These success criteria are theoretical in the sense that they are normative rather than prescriptive, and require operationalization by evaluators. They are intended to be operationalized from a community development perspective. From this perspective, it is assumed that a successful participation experience according to the developed criteria contributes to the development of both individuals and their community, and affects society at large.

The end result of this generative research process has been the induction of success critera for legislated citizen participation which is grounded in the phenomenon itself. While none of the dimensions of the process and impact components constitutes a unique discovery, their consolidation, grounding, and interpretation as success criteria is new. As such, the criteria should be subject to verification research through their application in real evaluations. Within this research, they have an acceptable level of validity.

6.4 Validity

There are four sources of validity for the success criteria. These are perspectivism, theoretical saturation, consensus of meaning, and Glaser and Strauss' (1967) criteria of applicability.

The use of comparison groups, file information, and participant observation provided data from varying perspectives about the phenomenon under study. As discussed in Chapter 2, Ball (1977) argues that this perspectivism in kinds and sources of data lends validity to this kind of research. Others have used perspectivism (example, Rothschild-Witt, 1976) as a source of validity in a grounded theory approach to qualitative research. Based on the use of perspective data for this study, an acceptable level of validity for its conclusions may be assumed. This level of validity was further substantiated through an interpretation based on consensus of meaning. In other words, much of the interpretation was based upon the agreement across perspectives in all of theoretical sampling categories. Bruyn (1966) suggests consensus of meaning as an authentic means of establishing validity in qualitative research.

Further, an acceptable level of validity may be assumed for grounded theory, if a point of theoretical saturation is reached during the research process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). A point of theoretical saturation was judged to have been reached during this research, and this saturation was tested

and found satisfactory as described in Chapter 5.

Finally, another means of establishing validity is through Glaser and Strauss' criteria of applicability which are fit, understanding, generality, and control.

Fit

It must be argued that the success criteria induced from the data do fit the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation as it operated in the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in Alberta. The information was based on the participant-observation of the writer at the provincial level, and on observation and interviews at the local level. The neighbourhoods chosen for study represented a cross-section of the kind of neighbourhood designated under NIP, so that the success criteria are not specific to a type of neighbourhood, its size, location, or a particular set of intervening variables.

Contact with those involved in NIP throughout the province provided checks on the consistency of the data with the phenomenon. The data are also consistent with other descriptions of legislated citizen participation for urban development contained in the literature.

Understanding

The understanding of the success criteria on the part of those working in the substantive area of citizen participation may be assumed if those working operate from a similar

philosophy of community development to that on which this thesis is based. For others, the fact that the dimensions of the success criteria are based on the actual verbalizations of a wide cross-section of people, suggests an inherent understanding on the part of those likely to be involved in the area.

The wide agreement in the literature on context-free definitions of citizen participation, and the salience and pervasiveness of the phenomenon suggests that an understanding of the phenomenon exists.

Generality

The success criteria are bound to legislated citizen participation in a residential-ecological community based government program. They should be applicable in any instance where the citizens are defined as the recipients of that program, where some agency is responsible for program delivery, and where citizens are given the mandate to participate in that delivery. The criteria should not be limited to a particular kind, size, or location of community; or to a particular format of participation; or to a particular program with particular goals. If, however, participation in planning is not a microcosm of participation in other areas, the criteria may be limited to participation in planning.

Control

The success criteria were developed for use in evaluation. By definition, evaluation should provide some understanding and

analysis of a situation which should yield some predictability over change and its consequences. It is this kind of understanding which may yield some level of predictability which is believed to meet what Glaser and Strauss call "control" rather than a belief that "knowledge equals power". Thus, it is concluded that the success criteria meet Glaser and Strauss' criteria of applicability.

On the basis of all of these sources, it may be concluded that the level of validity for the success criteria is acceptable.

6.5 Summary

The foregoing has been a discussion of the interpretation of the data which led to the induction of success criteria for legislated citizen participation.

The initial interpretation of the data substantiates both the inadequacy of program implementation and citizen control as success criteria for mandated citizen participation and the necessity of their inclusion in any success criteria developed. Within the environment of legislated citizen participation, which is interpreted as somewhat narrow, two basic premises appear grounded in the data. These are that citizens should participate, and that the citizens are defined as the program recipients. Within this environment, and with these basic assumptions, the inducted success criteria are operational from a community development perspective.

These success criteria have both a process and an impact component. The process component is grounded in data from the theoretical sampling categories related to the process of participation. The impact component is grounded in data from the theoretical sampling category related to the impact of participation on the participants and their community.

Each component is comprised of four interdependent dimensions which are considered to be continua and relative rather than dichotomous and absolute. The interdependence of the dimensions within each component suggests that both the process and impact of citizen participation are synergistic. This synergism mitigates the use of a single dimension as a surrogate for success.

The process component of the success criteria may be considered as an end in itself, and as a means to an end. That end is the impact component which is hypothesized as constituting the goals of legislated citizen participation within a representative democracy. The exact relationship between process and impact is a matter for further study.

These success criteria remain theoretical to the extent that they are normative rather than prescriptive. In other words, they represent shoulds rather than hows. The prescriptive aspect is found in many aspects in current literature on community development and participation. Hopefully these prescriptions may be linked with these normative criteria.

The criteria may also be subject to future verification research.

These success criteria include and transcend both citizen control and program implementation. They are grounded in the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation and possess an acceptable level of validity.

Chapter 7

Summary and Conclusions

7.1 Summary

Community development is not citizen participation. The concept of citizen participation is, however, inextricably entwined with the philosophical assumptions of western concepts of community development. As such, the concept of citizen participation, as an operative assumption for how change should occur, may be considered a central and basic assumption of the field. The participation of members of a community in decisions which affect their lives and their community is imperative; one of the commonly suggested roles of the community development worker is to facilitate citizen participation.

This thesis has been an exploration of this basic assumption of citizen participation. The assumption is related to broader theories of democracy, and most closely bound to theories of classical or participatory democracy in which participation is central to the establishment of a democratic polity. In theoretical terms, however, citizen participation becomes a rather problematic assumption.

There are gaps in the normative theory for the phenomenon which become particularly glaring during attempts to put theory into practice.

Those in the community development field who are continually involved with putting theory into practice are also involved in the real world of representative democracy where participation is differential not universal, and indirect rather than direct. It is a real world, however, where citizen participation has become salient, and often perceived as a panacea for curing the ills of modern representative democracy. This has resulted in an uneven trend towards the legislation of a citizen participation component in government programs.

This adoption of citizen participation by representative democracy has blurred some of the theoretical lines between classical and contemporary theories of democracy. With the trend towards legislated citizen participation and the similarity between its policy rhetoric and the rhetoric of community development, it is possible that community development workers may find themselves operating in this blurred area by attempting to facilitate citizen participation in a government program. Therefore, the focus of the thesis has been on the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation.

The initial purpose of the thesis was to evaluate an example of mandated citizen participation in order to learn about the phenomenon. This was virtually impossible because there are no agreed upon goals for this kind of citizen participation; therefore there were no adequate success criteria against which it could be evaluated. Community development workers attempting to evaluate their work with

this phenomenon, had two alternatives for criteria; citizen control and program implementation. Neither of these was judged to be adequate or even authentic alone, and together they were often incompatible. Even for these criteria, there was no consensus on methodology, salient characteristics, or variables. Those in the community development field have thus been abandoned amid a sea of prescriptions and descriptions for the facilitation of legislated citizen participation without any clear agreement on the ends of that participation, and inadequate means for its assessment.

This lack of adequate success criteria for this kind of citizen participation is the problem addressed in the thesis. The purpose has been to generate success criteria.

It was suspected that some of the defiance of generalization by citizen participation and the existence of gaps in normative theory, identified in the literature, lay with the methods employed for its study rather than with the phenomenon. In the case of legislated citizen participation, these methods had usually centered around the use of the phenomenon as a variable in program evaluation. The premise of this research was to turn the question around; to use a program to examine citizen participation and to attempt to generate theory from practice.

Based on this premise, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) was selected as a vehicle for examining legislated citizen participation as a program component; and a grounded

theory approach to qualitative research was employed. NIP was selected because it met the criteria of generality to other cases of this kind of mandated participation, and of relevancy to the field of community development. The grounded theory approach was employed because it is focussed towards generation rather than verification. A qualitative method was also compatible for the study of a phenomenon which has not easily lent itself to quantification. The grounded aspect of the method is reflective of the decision to develop theory from practice; the results of the research would be grounded in the phenomenon under study. In other words, success criteria would be developed or generated from data collected from the actual practice of legislated citizen participation.

This research process has involved a continuous, self-corrective process of the acquisition and analysis of data. A literature review, in which theoretical sampling categories were identified, and participant observation in NIP at the provincial level, in which comparison groups were identified, led to a file search and field interviews. The field interviews were conducted in a cross-sectional sample of neighbourhoods which were representative of the four kinds of neighbourhoods involved in NIP (inner city, small municipality, villages and improvement districts) and of the three immediate program delivery agencies (Edmonton and Calgary Planning Departments, and AHC). These neighbourhoods had

completed the planning stage of the program in which citizen participation was most visible and operative; and had been designated in various years of the program so that data would not be specific to a particular period of program evolution.

With this sample, the data were not specific to a particular kind or size of residential-ecological community, to a particular immediate delivery agency, or to a particular format of citizen participation. Data acquisition terminated at a point of theoretical saturation, and theoretical saturation was tested and proven with additional interviews in a neighbourhood outside the sample.

Success criteria have been interpreted through this process of theoretical sampling. These success criteria contain both a process and an impact component.

Each of these components contain four interrelated dimensions which are considered as relative continua. These are briefly summarized in Table 10. (The reader is referred to Table 9. for a more complete presentation of the dimensions and their operational definition as continua). The process component is composed of the key success-related dimensions of accountability, function and role of the participation unit, and information for decision-making. This component is relative to the participation unit. The impact component is composed of the success-related dimensions of integration, education, efficacy and legitimation which are relative to the participants

TABLE 10

Summary of Success Criteria for Legislated Citizen Participation: The Dimensions of Process and Impact Components [1]

Operational Assumptions:

1. citizens should participate
2. citizens are defined as program recipients: the participants are a subset of program target population

Dimensions of the Process Component [2]	Dimensions of the Impact Component [3]
Accountability - to the community	Integration - community
Function - legislated	Education - citizenship
Role - control with elected approval	Efficacy - citizen control
Information - accuracy and availability	Legitimation - acceptance

1. See Table 9 for complete presentation of these criteria.

2. Relates to participation unit.

3. Relates to participants and their community.

and their community.

The dimensions of the impact component of the success criteria reflect the theoretical functions of participation according to classical democratic theory. The relationship between impact and goals was the basis for the hypothesis that these functions may be the goals of legislated citizen participation, and that these goals may be achieved if the process criteria are met. The relationship between process and goals or impact is a subject for further study.

These success criteria are founded on the premises that citizens should participate in decision-making, and that the citizens are defined such that the participants are a subset of a program's target population. They are operative within the environment created by legislated citizen participation in which boundaries are usually government defined, and which may be considered somewhat narrow. This is dependent upon how many levels of government and administration are involved, and the number of constraints imposed on what constitutes eligible decisions for the citizen participation component of the program.

The success criteria remain theoretical in the sense that they are normative rather than prescriptive, and subject to further verification through application in real evaluations. The criteria possess an acceptable level of validity through theoretical saturation, perspectivism, consensus of meaning, and what Tudor (1976) calls the common sense aspect

of phenomenological research. They also meet Glaser and Strauss' (1967) criteria of applicability.

7.2 Conclusions

The primary conclusion of this research is that explicit success criteria for the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation, as a government program component, do exist. These success criteria contain both process and impact or product components. These components include and transcend the commonly employed criteria of citizen control and program implementation, and are compatible with the philosophical assumptions of community development reviewed in this thesis.

It is concluded that, with the developed success criteria, the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation, as a government program component, may be evaluated against its own objectives as opposed to the transferred objectives now in use, which are often actor or situation specific, and inseparable from program evaluation.

The success criteria are intended to be operative under the basic premises that citizens should participate, and that the citizens are defined as program participants. They are intended to be applied from a community development perspective in which the focus of an evaluation is towards the participants and their community. From this perspective, it is concluded that the developed success criteria possess

authenticity and integrity. In this sense, an authentic evaluation from this perspective, should not be undertaken unless the basic premises are met.

The success criteria may be generalized to other situations in which participation is a legislated component of a government program. They are not specific to a particular program, a particular type of residential-ecological community, or to a particular program delivery agency. In this sense, they may be applied in program evaluation and could make the citizen participation component a more useful variable in such endeavors. Their application would constitute the necessary verification research; and work could progress towards developing the now absent consensus on the methodology and salient characteristics for the assessment of this program component.

The developed success criteria may be specific to participation in planning, but insofar as participation in planning is a microcosm of wider involvement, a broader level of generality may be assumed.

In community development terms, the developed success criteria may be generalized beyond the limits of legislated citizen participation as a government program component to any case where a collectivity shares "Time, space and resources over an extended period in some endeavor of mutual concern" (Makeracher, Davie & Patterson, 1976).

In the sense that the success criteria refer to a central assumption of the field of community development, a philosophical assumption of the means for change, these criteria may be considered as the success criteria for this means of change. Because the result of this means for change is argued to be "development", the impact component of these criteria--community integration, citizenship education, a sense of efficacy and legitimation--may also be considered, to some extent, as measures of development. This is compatible with a synergistic view of development which incorporates changes in the competencies of individual members, and changes in the problem-solving and decision-making structures of a community. Thus, it is concluded that the dimensions of the impact component of the success criteria should be included in any measures of development.

On a broader level, the relationship between success criteria and goals has led to the conclusion that the impact component of the developed success criteria may be the goals of legislated citizen participation within a representative system. On this basis, these goals are the creation of community, a revival of responsive citizenship such that citizens know their rights and responsibilities, the power to fulfill both, and a commitment to the implementation of decisions.

The process of participation which results in the impact component of the success criteria and achieves the goals of legislated citizen participation is one which meets the

developed success criteria in terms of its process component. It is concluded that this is a synergistic process which results in a synergistic impact. The success criteria as developed, are the dimensions of both this process and its impact. Further research is necessary to explore the relationship between process and impact. It is hypothesized, however, that the full potential in all of the impact dimensions cannot be realized if there is a failure to meet all of the process criteria. This has implications for both the field of community development, and at the broader level of the place for participation within a representative system.

As normative criteria for the process of participation, the process component of the success criteria--accountability, function and role of the participation unit, and information--should be included in any body of practice theory for community development. Clearly, if these criteria are to be generalized outside of a government program, the category and properties of the function criterion would change. If the function of participation has not been legislated then this becomes a superfluous criterion in the sense that no legislated function would be achieved. The function criterion, however, remains an integral part of the process component and should still be included as the achievement of the function of the participation unit legislated or not. This function may be self-determined in these cases.

The primary implications of meeting all of the process criteria for both the field of community development, and on the broader theoretical level, stem from their normative orientation. Further prescriptive work is necessary on both levels in the area of how to meet the process criteria.

For the field of community development, this suggests work on how to facilitate participation such that there is real accountability on the part of a participation unit to its community; that there is available and accurate information for decision-making; that the role of the participation unit is one of control over decisions with an advisory administration, and that decisions will have the approval of an elected representative body; and that the function of a participation unit is achieved.

Similar prescriptive work is necessary at the broader theoretical level relative to the place of citizen participation within a representative system. For example, it is clear that the achievement of the role criterion necessitates the acceptance of elected representatives and their administration of that role. This acceptance may require a number of changes in the current structure. For one thing, the implementation of a large number of programs in this fashion would result in a high level of administrative decentralization. This in itself raises a host of issues. The achievement of the function criterion raises a multitude of other issues.

For example, in order to meet the function criterion, there must be goal equivalency between a program and its recipients. Thus the policy which determines a program must accurately reflect the interest of the recipient population, as well as the larger public interest. This implies the need for effective citizen input into policy decisions at various government levels.

These are merely suggestions for the kind of prescriptive work implied if the normative success criteria are accepted. It is beyond the scope of this research to explore the implications in depth, but a great deal of literature exists in both the field of community development and at the broader theoretical level, in many of these areas. They are not new issues. The consolidation and focussing of this literature towards the developed success criteria does not exist. That is a new issue.

In summary further research is required in four areas at both practical and theoretical levels. At the practical level, verification research is required through the application of the success criteria in real evaluations. Also at this level, research may be required to determine whether the success criteria have generality which extends beyond policy implementation or programs to policy determination. As they stand now, they may be applicable only to the former.

At the theoretical level, further research is required on the relationship between the process and impact of legislated

citizen participation. Prescriptive research is also required relative to the achievement of the normative success criteria, and on the prescriptive-normative linkage.

Even with the possible limitation of these success criteria to policy implementation, it is hoped that they may be useful in the evaluation of legislated citizen participation.

In community development terms, it is hoped that this research has contributed to the field, and that the application of these success criteria may lead to more knowledge about the practice and evaluation of citizen participation which will ultimately result in better practice.

Finally, it is hoped that in a small way, this research may contribute to the work on the development of substantive theory for the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation and its place in a system of representative democracy.

The dimensions of the process and impact components of success criteria for legislated citizen participation are not new discoveries. The consolidation and interpretation of the dimensions as success criteria, and the very existence of both a process and product component are discoveries. These discoveries are the result of a generative research process, and are grounded in the phenomenon of legislated citizen participation. The final conclusion of this thesis must be that these new theoretical success criteria constitute grounded knowledge about the phenomenon.

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APPENDIX A

Focussed Interview Schedule

Appendix A

Focussed Interview Schedule

Resident Involvement - NIP

1. In your opinion why is resident involvement part of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program?

2. Has resident involvement been successful in your neighbourhood/municipality? In what ways do you consider it to be successful/unsuccessful?

3. Has there been any effect in the community as a result of resident involvement in NIP in terms of resident participation in other areas? Please describe:

4. At what stage have residents been most involved?

   (a) Selection stage
   (b) Planning stage
   (c) Implementation stage

   At what stage should residents be involved?

   (a) Selection stage
   (b) Planning stage
   (c) Implementation stage

5. What kind of organization or structure has been used for resident involvement in NIP in your community?

   (a) Built on existing organization and leadership
   (b) Creation of new organization and leadership
   (c) Combination of both

   Please describe the size, structure, and composition of of the group:

   (a) How were residents selected?
      (a) elected at large
      (b) elected at public meeting
      (c) appointed by whom _____
      (d) volunteered

6. Is the group incorporated under the Societies Act:

____yes ____no

If so, why:

7. Have public meetings been held: ____yes ____no

If yes:

(a) who calls the meetings:

(b) how would you rate attendance: Low Moderate High

(c) how often are meetings held:

(d) what is the purpose of the meetings:

8. How is the NIP resident group accountable to the rest of the community residents? To council?

9. How were neighbourhood improvement needs or problems identified in the community?

(a) survey or questionnaire response rate _____
(b) workshop
(c) public meeting
(d) other (please specify)

10. How were solutions or alternatives for planning identified?

11. How were priorities for spending established from the alternatives?

12. How would you rate the publicity about NIP in the community:

low moderate high

What kind of publicity was used most (i.e. flyers, radio, etc.)

13. How were decisions made in the resident group:

(a) voting - simple majority (50%)
(b) voting - more than simple majority
(c) consensus

14. How would you rate the level of conflict among residents during the planning process:

0 1 2 3 4

15. How was conflict handled or resolved?

16. What kind of involvement did Council have with the resident group?

17. How would you rate Council's support of NIP 0 1 2 3 4

18. How would you rate the Administration's support of NIP? 0 1 2 3 4

19. How would you rate the level of conflict between the resident group and Council? 0 1 2 3 4

20. How would you rate Council's acceptance of resident group leaders?

(a) low - not accepted
(b) Moderate - accepted on an informal, ad hoc basis
(c) high - formal ongoing communication and cooperation

21. What has been the role of professional staff (planners) in the planning decisions? Please rate each role:

(a)	Manager	0	1	2	3	4
(b)	broker (liaison between resident group and levels of government)	0	1	2	3	4
(c)	director	0	1	2	3	4
(d)	secretariat (resource, information provision)	0	1	2	3	4

22. What has been the role of the NIP coordinator in planning decisions? Please rate each role:

(a)	manager	0	1	2	3	4
(b)	broker	0	1	2	3	4
(c)	technician (worker assigned to tasks)	0	1	2	3	4

(d) director 0 1 2 3 4

(e) secretariat 0 1 2 3 4

(f) facilitator 0 1 2 3 4

(g) advocate (spokesman) 0 1 2 3 4

23. What has been the role of the resident group in planning decisions:

(a) giving advice to or persuading "experts" 0 1 2 3 4

(b) partnership between group and "experts" 0 1 2 3 4

(c) controlling decisions 0 1 2 3 4

24. How available and accurate has been the information for planning decisions?

0 1 2 3 4 accurate 0 1 2 3 4 unavailable

25. How should the resident group relate to other organizations:

(a) CMHC
(b) AHC
(c) Council
(d) Administration (local level)
(e) Voluntary organizations in the community